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Sextus Empiricus

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΥΣ

AGAINST THE MUSICIANS

(Adversus musicos)

A new critical text and
translation on facing pages,
with an introduction, annotations,
and *indices verborum*
and *nominum et rerum* by

Denise Davidson Greaves



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To Sheldon

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PREFACE

Sextus Empiricus, a Skeptic philosopher of the second century A.D., has been important to students of philosophy for many centuries because his writings constitute the major surviving source of information on ancient Pyrrhonian Skepticism, as well as contributing to the understanding of the views of other philosophers and philosophical schools. The *Adversus mathematicos* is a series of treatises in which Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how Skeptic methods are applied to the divisions of philosophy and to the subjects of education that were considered standard in his time. The *Adversus musicos*, one part of this series, is important to students of music history because it provides a consideration of ethical views of music--a subject of some concern to philosophers of antiquity--and shows how general philosophical problems--such as the nature of substance, change, and time--may be viewed in respect to the technical theories of music.

The present edition has a twofold aim. First, it presents a critical edition of the text of the *Adversus musicos* that is more authoritative than editions previously published, which were based on a consideration of no more than eight manuscripts. The present edition, by contrast, is based on a new collation of twenty-five manuscripts, most of which are not cited by earlier editors and one of which is earlier than any manuscript cited in previous editions. Second, the edition attempts to make accessible to the English reader the methods, aims, and thought of Sextus Empiricus through a new translation into English on facing pages accompanied by a running commentary that sets out related passages in other ancient sources, provides explanatory notes, and cites important current secondary literature. An Introduction furnishes information on Skepticism in general and the life and writings of Sextus Empiricus, illuminates the *Adversus musicos* through a discussion of its form and major parallel sources of antiquity, provides a *catalogue raisonné* of the manuscripts used in the edition, and discusses the text of the *Adversus musicos* as it is preserved in the codices and the earlier editions.

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INTRODUCTION

The Life of Sextus Empiricus

Definite information on the life of Sextus Empiricus is not preserved to any great degree in ancient sources. Some general outlines, however, can be drawn from references in the extant writings of Sextus Empiricus himself, the works of Diogenes Laertius, and writings attributed to the physician Galen.

Floruit

Sextus Empiricus probably lived at least a generation before Diogenes Laertius, since both Sextus Empiricus and his student Saturninus are mentioned as major figures of the Skeptic school by Diogenes Laertius at the end of his account of the life of Timon: "Herodotus taught Sextus Empiricus, who wrote ten books on Scepticism, and other fine works. Sextus taught Saturninus called Cythenas, another empiricist."¹ If Diogenes Laertius lived in the first half of the third century, as is generally supposed,² one may place Sextus Empiricus around the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century A.D. A *terminus ante quem* of the early third century is confirmed by the dates of Hippolytus (ca.

¹"Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ Ἐμπειρικὸς, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα. Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνύνος ὁ Κυθηναῖος, ἐμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.116; translation in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers in Two Volumes*, trans. R. D. Hicks, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970-72], 2:527).

²Herbert S. Long, "Diogenes Laertius," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 348. It would be tenuous to date Sextus Empiricus solely on this evidence, since he is one of the major figures used to establish a *terminus post quem* for Diogenes Laertius, and one encounters a problem of circular reasoning.

A.D. 170-ca. 236), whose *Refutatio omnium haeresium* transcribes Sextus Empiricus's *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*.³

A slightly earlier date, ca. A.D. 100, has been suggested by Fridolf Kudlien.⁴ His conclusion is dependent upon the argument that Herodotus of Tarsus, the teacher of Sextus Empiricus named by Diogenes Laertius, is the same man as the Herodotus discussed in the medical works of Galen, and that Arieus, who is named by Diogenes Laertius as the father of Herodotus, is the same Arieus to whom the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides Pedanius was dedicated. The evidence is possible but tenuous.⁵

In the first book of his *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, Sextus Empiricus implies that the chief opponents to Skeptic philosophy are the Stoics: "Now according to those Dogmatists who are, at present, our chief opponents--I mean the Stoics-- . . ."⁶ Because of his many references to Stoics and Stoicism, he is regarded as a notable source for the study of Stoic philosophy.⁷ It has therefore been proposed that Sextus Empiricus lived during a period when Stoicism was thriving. If so, the second century seems a reasonable possibility, and the first half of the third century may also be considered. One must also note that Sextus Empiricus discusses dogmatic sects that are undoubtedly not contemporary

³Henry Chadwick, "Hippolytus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 519; Hermann Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter et Socios, 1965), p. 145.

⁴Fridolf Kudlien, "Die Datierung des Sextus Empiricus und des Diogenes Laertius," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 106 (1963): 252-53.

⁵D. K. House, "The Life of Sextus Empiricus," *Classical Quarterly* 30 (1980): 230-31. The arguments used in Kudlien's article are briefly discussed.

⁶"οὗτος τοίνυν κατὰ τοῦς μάλιστα ἡμῶν ἀντιδοξοῦντας νῦν δογματικούς, τοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, . . ." (*Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* [hereafter P.] 1.65; translation in *Sextus Empiricus in Four Volumes*, trans. R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933-49], 1:41).

⁷David J. Furley, "Sextus Empiricus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 984. See also Benson Mates, "Stoic Logic and the Text of Sextus Empiricus," *American Journal of Philology* 70 (1949): 290.

with himself and that he names Stoics from earlier periods.⁸ With this in mind, dates within the second century or the first half of the third century are possible but not conclusive.

Life

Evidence reveals that Sextus Empiricus was a physician as well as a philosopher. The *Introductio seu medicus*, a work once attributed to Galen but now considered spurious, mentions a Sextus who strengthened and belonged to the Empiric school of physicians: "after these were Menodotus and Sextus, who also strengthened it [the Empiric sect] in precision."⁹ Unfortunately, the authorship and date of the work remain unknown, but there is value in the reference as evidence that Sextus Empiricus was a physician of the Empiric school. Support of the view that the Sextus in the *Introductio seu medicus* is Sextus Empiricus is found in the fact that Menodotus, too, is noted as an important Empiric physician, and in the same passage where he mentions Sextus Empiricus and Saturninus, Diogenes Laertius counts Menodotus as an Empiric physician and a significant figure in the tradition of Skeptic philosophy.

There is also evidence in Sextus Empiricus's own works that he was a physician. In one passage, he uses the first person plural form of a verb when giving a medical example ("... but it is not for this but for the general abatement in the disease that we recommend the varied diet"¹⁰), and in another, he refers to Asclepius as "the founder of our science, ..."¹¹ Elsewhere, he refers to one of his works, now lost, the *Iatrica hypomnemata*.¹²

The association of Skeptic philosophy with Empiric medicine raises some problems. Sextus Empiricus himself

⁸House, pp. 227-29.

⁹"μεθ' οὗτος Μηνοδότος καὶ Σέξτιος, οὗ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐκρά-
τουσαν αὐτὴν [ἐμπειρικὴν αἴρεσιν]" (*Introductio seu medicus*,
in *Opera omnia*, 20 vols., ed. Karl Gottlob Kühn [Leipzig: Car.
Cnoblochius, 1821-33; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms,
1964-65], 14:683).

¹⁰"τὴν δὲ ποικίλην δίαιταν οὐκ ἐν ταύτῃ δοκιμάζομεν
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ παρακμῇ τοῦ ὅλου νοσήματος" (P. 2.238; translation
in *Sextus Empiricus*, 1:311).

¹¹"τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης" (*Adversus mathe-
maticos* [hereafter *M.*] 1.260; translation in *Sextus Empiricus*,
4:147).

¹²*M.* 7.202.

points out that the ideas put forth by the Empiric school of medicine are not in agreement with the claims of Skeptic philosophy, and he indicates that the principles of the Methodic school, rather, accord with Skeptic ideas.¹³ Elsewhere, however, Sextus Empiricus refers to his work *Empirica hypomnemata*, which no longer survives,¹⁴ and this work indicates that he was interested in Empiricism, though one does not know whether or how he reconciled it with his Skepticism. With all factors in view, one may infer that Sextus Empiricus was a physician important to the Empiric school as well as a Skeptic philosopher.

Sphere

Sextus Empiricus left no record where he lived or taught. One passage of his own writing implies that he was Greek but not Athenian.¹⁵ When presenting examples of differences in Greek dialects, he employed the first person plural form of a pronoun to refer to the speakers of one dialect ("For example, that which is called by us ὑποπόδιον"), but he used the third person plural of a verb ("the Athenians and Coans call χελωνίζω") when indicating the speech of the Athenians and Coans.¹⁶

In another passage, Sextus Empiricus indirectly states that he had at least visited Athens at some time. His statement that Athens is "occasionally non-evident"¹⁷ to him indicates either that he had been to Athens in the past but was not there at the time he was writing or, perhaps, that he was inside a building in Athens and could not see the city itself.¹⁸ Sextus Empiricus's references to Rome and Alexandria may indicate personal familiarity with those places.¹⁹ In all

¹³P. 1.236-37.

¹⁴M. 1.61. House, p. 234, suggests that the *Iatrica hypomnemata* and the *Empirica hypomnemata* may be the same work.

¹⁵Furley, p. 983.

¹⁶"οἷον τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλούμενον ὑποπόδιον Ἀθηναίου καὶ Κῶου χελωνίζα καλοῦσιν" (M. 1.246; translation in *Sextus Empiricus*, 4:139).

¹⁷P. 2.98. This passage falls within a discussion of signs and proofs. Objects are described as pre-evident or non-evident. The term "occasionally non-evident" (πρὸς καιρὸν ἄδηλα) refers to things that are capable of being perceived but are made non-evident by the external situation.

¹⁸House, p. 232.

¹⁹Philip P. Hallie, "Sextus Empiricus," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York:

instances, one must not rule out the possibility of Sextus Empiricus borrowing from other sources.²⁰ It seems reasonably certain that he was not in Alexandria when he wrote the third book of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, for he distinguishes the people in Alexandria from those "here" (παρ' ἡμῶν).²¹

Thus, one can only say of Sextus Empiricus with reasonable certainty that he was a Greek Skeptic philosopher living during the second century or first half of the third century A.D. His places of residence and teaching may be indicated by particular familiarity with Athens, Alexandria, and Rome. Though his main contribution consists of his writings on Skeptic philosophy, he was a physician associated with the Empiric school of medicine, as were Menodotus and Saturninus, other Skeptic philosophers of that general period.

The Writings and Skeptic Methods of Sextus Empiricus

The largest amount of available information on the ancient Skeptics and Skeptic methods and terminology survives in the writings of Sextus Empiricus. His writings are divided into two major groups, the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* and the *Adversus mathematicos*. Much of this work is a compilation of the ideas and methods of his predecessors rather than a product of original thought. An outline of the development of Skepticism will serve to provide a background for understanding the methods and thought of Sextus Empiricus.

Brief History and Outline of Skepticism

Pyrrho

The founder of the Skeptic tradition in antiquity was Pyrrho of Elis (ca. 360-270 B.C.²²). None of his own writing survives, but some idea of his life and philosophy can be conjectured through the surviving fragments of the writings of his pupil Timon and through an account of his life written by Diogenes Laertius.

The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 7:427. Athens, Rome, and Alexandria seem to be the places suggested by most scholars. House, p. 232, adds Egypt and Libya to the list.

²⁰House, p. 233.

²¹P. 3.221. House, p. 232.

²²Philip P. Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism, Man, and God: Selections from the Major Writings of Sextus Empiricus*, trans. Sanford G. Etheridge (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1964), pp. 14-15.

Pyrrho's philosophy was characterized by suspension of judgment (*ἐποχή*) on things that cannot be proven. He claimed a sort of agnosticism by not preferring one assertion over another.

For he asserted that nothing is either good or base or just or unjust. And likewise in everything, in truth there is nothing; by law and by character, rather, are all things done by men. For each thing is no more this than that.²³

The Skepticism of Pyrrho was a practical way of life (*ἀγωγή*) rather than a formal system or method.²⁴ Diogenes Laertius records two differing traditions of the life of Pyrrho. According to the one, Pyrrho was indifferent to all matters in life, caring neither for others nor for himself.

He led a life consistent with this doctrine, going out of his way for nothing, taking no precaution, but facing all risks as they came, whether carts, precipices, dogs or what not, and, generally, leaving nothing to the arbitrament of the senses.²⁵

The story was also told of him that once when his teacher Anaxarchus was caught in a slough, he walked by without offering to help.²⁶ This shows Pyrrho as a man who had forsaken his human awareness and sensitivity and attempted to be independent of the external world.²⁷

According to the other tradition, Pyrrho's Skeptic attitude was retained only in theoretical matters. From a practical point of view, he lived successfully.²⁸

Pyrrho's views may be represented in a passage that claims Timon as its source.

His [Pyrrho's] pupil Timon says that the man who is to be truly happy must pay regard to these three questions: (1)

²³"οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτε ἀδίκον· καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.61).

²⁴Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 11.

²⁵"Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρέπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἅπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἀμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὅλως μηδὲν ταῦς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπιτρέπων" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.62; translation in *Lives*, 2:475).

²⁶Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.63.

²⁷Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 12.

²⁸Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.62.

What is the nature of things? (2) What attitude ought we to adopt with respect to them? (3) What will be the net result for those so disposed? He says that he [Pyrrho] declared that things are by nature equally indeterminable, admitting of neither measurement nor discrimination. For this reason, our sense experiences and beliefs are neither true nor false. Therefore, we ought not to put our trust in them, but be without beliefs, disinclined to take a stand one way or the other; and we should be steadfast in this attitude, saying about each thing individually that it no more is than is not, than both is and is not, than neither is nor is not. For those who are indeed disposed in this manner, according to Timon, there will result first, a disinclination to make assertions and then, ataraxia.²⁹

Timon

Timon (ca. 320-230 B.C.³⁰) was Pyrrho's most famous student, and tradition records that his Skepticism did not prevent him from participating fully in an active life. Antigonos, one of the sources used by Diogenes Laertius in writing his account of Timon's life, reported that Timon was fond of drinking (φιλοποτής) and that when he had leisure time, he would write epics, tragedies, satyric dramas, comedies, lampoons, and obscene poems.³¹ His philosophy was one of accepting and living according to the appearances of things rather than using phenomena to determine the hidden nature

²⁹"ὁ δέ γε μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων φησὶ, δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα εὐδαιμονήσειν εἰς τρία ταῦτα βλέπειν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅποια πέφυκε τὰ πράγματα· δεύτερον δέ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὰ διακεῖσθαι· τελευταῖον δέ, τί περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πράγματα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν ἐκείνης ἀδιάφορα, καὶ ἀστάθμητα, καὶ ἀνέγκριτα· διὰ τοῦτο, μήτε τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν μήτε τὰς δόξας ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν αὐταῖς δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀδοξάστους, καὶ ἀκλινεῖς, καὶ ἀκραδάντους εἶναι. περὶ ἐνδὲς ἐκάστου λέγοντας, ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ καὶ ἔστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὔτ' οὐκ ἔστιν. τοῖς μέντοι διακειμένοις οὕτω περιέσεσθαι Τίμων φησὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφασίαν, ἔπειτα δ' ἀταραξίαν" (Eusebius *Prep. Ev.* 14.18; translation in Charlotte Stough, *Greek Skepticism: A Study in Epistemology* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969], p. 17). The Greek term ataraxia is often interpreted as unperturbedness or quietude.

³⁰Hallie, *Introduction to Scepticism*, p. 17.

³¹Diogenes Laertius *Vit.* 9.110.

of things. Two sayings attributed to him help illustrate this attitude: "The apparent is omnipotent wherever it goes"; and "I do not lay it down that honey is sweet, but I admit that it appears to be so."³²

Another fragment exhibits both his verbal wit and his denial of the possibility of arriving at absolute truth. Some, while acknowledging that the senses when used alone are deceptive and that reason is deceptive when used abstractly, nevertheless claimed that the senses and reason could arrive at truth when used together. Timon would say to such people that "birds of a feather flock together,"³³ meaning that the combination of the two does not eliminate deception but merely combines the one with the other.³⁴

Arcesilaus

At the time of Timon,³⁵ a form of Skepticism was adopted by leaders of the Platonic Academy, the first of which was Arcesilaus (ca. 315-240 B.C.³⁶). The Academics may have regarded their Skepticism as building on a Socratic tradition, since Cicero observed that this philosophical method was "originated by Socrates, revived by Arcesilas, and reinforced by Carneades."³⁷ Diogenes Laertius reports that Arcesilaus admired Pyrrho,³⁸ but it cannot be determined how much, if any, of his doctrine Arcesilaus adopted directly from Pyrrho.

³²"ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμενον πάντα σθένει οὐπερ ὅν ἔλθῃ. . . . τὸ μέλι ὅτι ἐστὶ γλυκὺ οὐ τίθημι, τὸ δ' ὅτι φαίνεται ὁμολογῶ" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.105; translation in Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 16).

³³"συνῆλθεν Ἀιταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος" (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.114; translation in *Lives*, 2:525).

³⁴Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, pp. 15-16.

³⁵According to Menodotus, one of Diogenes Laertius's sources, Pyrrhonian Skepticism died out after Timon and was revived later. According to others, Hippobotus and Sotion, the tradition was never interrupted, and Diogenes Laertius records the names of those who reportedly continued the tradition in an unbroken succession (Diogenes Laertius Vit. 9.115-16).

³⁶Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 18.

³⁷"... profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade . . ." (Cicero *N.D.* 1.11; translation in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum; Academica*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967], p. 15).

³⁸Diogenes Laertius Vit. 4.33.

For Arcesilaus, Skepticism was more than merely a practical way of life. He gave to Skepticism a more systematic philosophical method and polemical tone, and much of his polemic was directed against the Stoics in particular. The Stoics' doctrine of truth was based on the idea of the apprehended appearance (καταληπτικὴ φαντασία) followed and affirmed by assent given by the mind (συγκατάθεσις). The sage was one who, after apprehending such clear presentations and assenting to them, founded upon them a conclusive science. Arcesilaus countered this with arguments concerning the unreliability of the senses and exposed weaknesses within Stoic theory. He pointed out that a presentation is called truth when perceived by a wise man but falsity when perceived by a fool. Since there is no criterion for determination of who is wise and who is a fool, one cannot assent to this doctrine.³⁹

In response to the Stoics' accusation that suspension of judgment keeps men from living well by preventing them from making decisions and acting accordingly, Arcesilaus developed his theory of the εὐλογον, or the reasonable. Though one cannot depend on phenomena for knowledge, he can act according to what seems reasonable or probable.⁴⁰

Carneades

The next figure of the Academy to play an important role in the development of Skeptic philosophy was Carneades (ca. 213-128 B.C.⁴¹). Carneades added to the arguments of Arcesilaus against the Stoic doctrine of the apprehended appearance by pointing out that what is perceived is not independent of other factors. Affective and subjective elements influence perception so that what appears true may actually be false. Since there is no criterion for determining what is an apprehended appearance and what is only apparently true,

³⁹Sextus Empiricus M. 7.150-57; John Glucker, "Arcesilaus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 95; Philip P. Hallie, "Arcesilaus," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 1:145.

⁴⁰Sextus Empiricus M. 7.158. Sextus Empiricus accuses Arcesilaus of not according with Skepticism, since Arcesilaus asserted that the suspension of judgment is good and assent is bad (Sextus Empiricus P. 1.233).

⁴¹Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 20.

one must suspend judgment in regard to the truth or falsity of all presentations.⁴²

As Arcesilaus had answered the criticism of the Stoics with his principle of the reasonable, Carneades developed a doctrine of the *πᾶσι*, the probable or persuasive. In order to act, it is necessary to assume the truth or falsity of various presentations. Though assertions are not to be made, one can act according to the probability or persuasiveness of phenomena.⁴³ Carneades set forth three basic degrees of probability. The first involves a presentation that appears believable but is not supported by accompanying presentations. The second is concerned with what appears true and is affirmed by attendant phenomena. The third involves something that is believable in itself, receives support from other presentations, and is affirmed by close investigation of both the thing in question and the accompanying phenomena. For example, if one quickly enters a dark room in which a coil of rope is lying, the rope may at first appear to be a snake. But after the attendant conditions have been perceived and tested, the original appearance becomes unpersuasive, and the object then appears to be a rope.⁴⁴

Aenesidemus and the ten modes

After Carneades, the Academy abandoned Skepticism, and the next major Skeptic figure, Aenesidemus, is considered to have revived a more Pyrrhonian form of Skepticism. Aenesidemus is generally placed as a younger contemporary of Cicero, but one can say with certainty only that he lived some time after Pyrrho and before Sextus Empiricus.⁴⁵

Aenesidemus is credited with the development of the ten basic *tropoi* (τρόποι) or modes leading to suspension of judgment. It is uncertain to what degree the modes were original with Aenesidemus.⁴⁶ To some extent, they can be viewed

⁴²Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.159-65.

⁴³Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.166-75.

⁴⁴Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.227-28; Francis H. Sandbach, "Carneades," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 206-7; Philip P. Hallie, "Carneades," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 2:33-34.

⁴⁵Hallie, Introduction to *Scepticism*, p. 24.

⁴⁶It is possible that the ten modes were formulated at least to some degree by Aenesidemus's predecessors. In

as an extension of Carneades' idea that phenomena are not independent but are influenced by various subjective and affective factors. Similarities can also be found between the ten modes and the categories of Aristotle.⁴⁷

Sextus Empiricus discusses the modes in the first of the three books of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes*, where he sets forth the methods and aims of Skepticism. In his introduction to the modes, he states that all ten may be grouped into one mode--the mode of relation (ὁ πρὸς τὸ τρόπον). This general mode is further divided into three more specific modes: one based on the subject who judges (comprising the first four of the ten), another on the object judged (comprising the seventh and the tenth), and a third on both the subject and the object (including the fifth, sixth, eighth, and ninth).⁴⁸

Of the ten modes, the first is that by which the same things may not cause the same appearances because of differences in animals.⁴⁹ Some animals are produced sexually, others asexually. Those that Sextus Empiricus discusses as being produced asexually were believed to have originated from various substances by means of spontaneous generation, such as bees from bulls, wasps from horses, worms from mud. Some animals are born alive, others as eggs, and others--such as bears--were believed to have been born as lumps of flesh. It was supposed that diversity in the origins of animals was a source of differing sense-affections and characters which in turn caused the different animals to perceive things differently.

Variations in the structure of the sense-organs themselves may also affect perception. Animals may have different perceptions of color because some have eyes that are yellow, others bloodshot, and others albino or other colors. The same

the introduction to a discussion of the modes, Sextus Empiricus states that among the older Skeptics, ten *tropoi* have been handed down through which suspension of judgment seems to be brought about. The name of Aenesidemus does not enter the text at all in connection with the ten modes. Diogenes Laertius states that Aenesidemus discusses the ten modes in his work on Pyrrhonism, but he does not state explicitly that Aenesidemus himself actually compiled them.

⁴⁷A. Philip McMahon, "Sextus Empiricus and the Arts," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 42 (1931): 100.

⁴⁸Sextus Empiricus P. 1.38-39.

⁴⁹Differences in both origin and body structure were believed to affect perception.



object may appear different to animals that have eyes with elongated pupils as opposed to animals with round pupils. Various body coverings, such as skin, shells, feathers, and scales, likely affect the sense of touch. Variations in the size and shape of the auditory canal may influence hearing. Because such variations in animals can cause differences in sense-perception, and because one perception is not necessarily more valid than another, one must suspend judgment regarding the true nature of what is perceived.⁵⁰

The second mode is based on differences in men with respect to both the body and the soul. In the body, there are variations in both forms and peculiar temperament. People of different ethnic origins have different bodily shapes, and Sextus Empiricus attributes this characteristic to a predominance of different humors. Not all people enjoy or avoid the same things, and some people are able to eat certain foods more readily than other people. Some men have escaped unhurt by things considered harmful or poisonous to most others.

Men probably vary, too, in respect to the soul, since the body is a certain *typos* (τύπος), or image, of the soul. As important evidence of this, Sextus Empiricus observes the discrepancy in statements of the various dogmatists concerning what one ought to choose or avoid. Since choice and avoidance are based on pleasure and displeasure, and since pleasure and displeasure are based on feelings and appearances, it follows that people are affected differently by the same things. Since there is no sure criterion that insures the validity of one man's impressions over another's, one cannot make a conclusive statement concerning the reality of the things involved.⁵¹

Differences in the senses form the basis of the third mode. Obviously, the various senses perceive the same object in different ways. To the eye a painting may seem to have recesses and prominences, but to the touch it seems flat. Honey may seem unpleasant to the eyes but pleasant to the taste; fragrant oil is unpleasant to the taste but pleasing to the sense of smell.

A phenomenon seems to be a complex of impressions perceived by the various senses. For example, an apple seems to be yellow, sweet, fragrant, and smooth. It is non-evident, however, whether the apple has so many qualities or whether it has only one quality that is perceived variously by the different sense-organs. It is also plausible that the apple

⁵⁰Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.40-78.

⁵¹Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.79-91.

may possess more qualities than are apparent to the senses and that these qualities are not apprehended because one does not have the appropriate sense-organs with which to perceive them. A man who has the senses of touch, taste, and smell but lacks the senses of sight and hearing will assume the existence of only the three sorts of qualities that he can perceive. Thus, the senses cannot necessarily be relied upon to reveal the real qualities of objects.⁵²

The fourth mode of suspension is based on the circumstances, or disposition, of the subject who is perceiving. What one apprehends changes depending on whether he is awake or asleep, in a natural or unnatural state, in motion or at rest, drunken or sober, or in other conditions caused by age, hatred or love, emptiness or fullness, confidence or fear, grief or joy, or predispositions. People in a state of frenzy or ecstasy may hear voices of demons while one in a natural state does not. Appearances perceived during sleep are different from those perceived while one is awake. Air that seems mild to a younger person may seem chilly to older people, and sounds that may seem faint to the older are clearly audible to the younger. Choice and avoidance, too, are affected by differences in age, since children prefer toys, people in their prime other things, and older people still others. A state of hunger can also influence perception, since the same food that is unpleasant to the sated may seem pleasant to the hungry. Dispositions cause much variance in perception, and it is not possible to establish a criterion by which to determine in what dispositions true impressions are received. It can only be observed that one more readily assents to present appearances than to those not present.⁵³

According to the fifth mode, perception is altered owing to differences in positions, distances, and locations. The same porch seems to have different shapes when viewed from different points, and a tower that appears quadrangular from a close point of view may seem round from a distance. A shining lamp appears bright in the dark but dim in the sunlight. An oar that looks straight when out of the water seems bent when placed in the water. A painting that seems smooth when lying flat may appear to have recesses and projections when inclined at a forward angle. The necks of doves appear to have different colors depending on the angle at which they are viewed. The appearances perceived from one location, distance, or

⁵²Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.91-99.

⁵³Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.100-117.

position are not necessarily more valid than those perceived from any other.⁵⁴

The sixth mode is based on admixtures. Objects are perceived not singly, but always in combination with other things. One's complexion appears to be of one color in warm air and of another color in cold air. The same sound seems different in dense air than in rare. A body is heavy in the air but light in water. Since one cannot separate an object from all circumstances with which it is mixed, it is not possible to determine its real nature.

The sense-organs themselves contribute to the admixtures. Objects seen are not perceived apart from the liquids and membranes of the eyes. A sound heard is altered by the size and shape of the auditory canal. The organs of taste and smell are influenced by substances that reside there. And to the perceptions apprehended by the senses, the mind itself adds an admixture. One must therefore suspend judgment regarding the essence of external objects.⁵⁵

The seventh mode is based on the quantity and composition of the objects perceived. For example, silver filings appear to be white when seen by themselves, but they look black when united as a mass. A whole block of marble seems yellow, but a single chip is considered white. Pebbles that seem rough when they are scattered from one another appear soft when combined in a heap.

Both food and wine affect the body in different ways depending on the quantity taken. In general, things that normally seem healthful become harmful in immoderate quantities, and substances usually considered harmful may cause no ill effect in a minute quantity. One can observe the appearance or effect of the objects in the given quantity, but one must suspend judgment concerning their real nature.⁵⁶

The eighth mode is based on relation. The appearance of an object is relative to both the subject observing and to its own conditions and circumstances. The other modes are demonstrations of the mode of relation, since they describe how certain relationships affect perception. Since everything appears to be relative to something else, one must suspend judgment on the true quality of any single object.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.118-23.

⁵⁵Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.124-28.

⁵⁶Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.129-34.

⁵⁷Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.135-40.

The ninth mode involves differences in perception according to constant or rare occurrence. A comet is regarded as a divine portent because of its rare appearance while the sun is viewed with little amazement. Earthquakes are less alarming to one who is accustomed to them than to one experiencing them for the first time. Water would seem very precious if it were rare, and if gold were scattered about as a common substance, it would not seem nearly so precious as it does now.⁵⁸

The tenth mode, based on ethics, is concerned with ways of life, habits, laws, mythical beliefs, and dogmatic assumptions. Since these vary considerably among different peoples, one can observe the appearance of a thing in respect to a particular law, habit, tradition, and so forth, but one cannot determine its true essence. Sextus Empiricus gives many examples of different ethics among the various groups of people known to him.⁵⁹

Agrippa and later modes

Agrippa, who lived later than Aenesidemus and before Sextus Empiricus, added five modes to the Skeptic method.⁶⁰ Sextus Empiricus points out that these modes were intended to complement rather than supersede the ten modes.

Of these five, the first mode is based on discrepancy. When one finds among both the common people and the philosophers that an unending conflict has arisen concerning an object (so that one can neither choose the thing nor reject it), he must suspend judgment.

The second mode, based on regress *ad infinitum*, pertains when something applied to a matter as a proof needs a further proof to establish its own validity, and this it turn requires another proof, and so on. It is necessary to suspend judgment, since there is no point from which to begin the argument.

The third mode is based on relativity and is basically the same as the eighth of the ten modes. The appearance of an object is dependent on the subject perceiving and on the accompanying perceptions.

The fourth mode is based on hypothesis. This occurs when one is caught in a series of proofs that demands regress

⁵⁸Sextus Empiricus P. 1.141-44.

⁵⁹Sextus Empiricus P. 1.145-62.

⁶⁰Sextus Empiricus P. 1.164-69.

ad infinitum and so takes an unproven assumption as a point on which to establish the argument.

The fifth mode is based on circular reasoning and is used when the proof and the subject of inquiry require mutual affirmation. Since one cannot be deduced without the assumption of the other, judgment is suspended about both.

A set of two modes was added later, but it is not clear whether they were intended to be an addition to the modes already in use or whether they were a reduction of another set. According to these modes, everything must be proven either through itself or through something else. Nothing, however, can be proven through itself because of discrepancies in sense perception and logic; nothing can be proven through something else because arguments of this sort can be reduced either to regress *ad infinitum* or to circular reasoning.⁶¹

Skeptic Expressions

The first book of the *Pyrrhonian hypotyposes* also contains a discussion of the meanings and uses of various expressions and phrases peculiar to Skeptic thought. It is uncertain how early in the tradition the Skeptic expressions originated, but they are central to understanding the Skeptic point of view. The expression "not more" (οὐ μᾶλλον) is elliptical for "not this more than that," meaning that one view is not necessarily more valid than another. "Non-assertion" (ἀφασία) is the refusal to make definite assertions or denials. Other terms indicate this attitude of non-assertion, such as "perhaps" (τάχα), "possibly" (ἔξεστι), and "maybe" (ἐνδέχεται). The phrase "I suspend judgment" (ἐπέχω) indicates that one is faced with apparent conflicts and does not know which to disbelieve. When one says "I determine nothing" (οὐδὲν ὀρίζω), he means that he does not put anything forward with assent. The expressions "all things are undetermined" (πάντα ἐστὶν ἀόριστα), "all things are non-apprehensible" (πάντα ἐστὶν ἀκατάληπτα), "I am non-apprehensive" (ἀκαταληπτιῶ), and "I apprehend not" (οὐ καταλαμβάνω) are all somewhat similar and in general indicate the refusal of one to make assertive statements concerning things, since their true nature cannot be known. The phrase "to every argument an equal argument is opposed" (πάντι λόγῳ λόγος ἴσος ἀντίκειται) means that all dogmatic statements that have been investigated seem to be opposed by equally credible statements. Sextus Empiricus is careful to point out that the Skeptic makes no assertion re-

⁶¹Sextus Empiricus P. 1.178-79.

garding the truth of any of these expressions and that they are intended merely as indications of how things seem to be.⁶²

Skeptic Aims

According to Sextus Empiricus, the aim of the Skeptic is *ataraxia*⁶³ in things according to opinion and moderate feeling (*μετρωμένητα*) in things inevitable.⁶⁴ The founders of Skepticism began the pursuit of philosophy for the purpose of judging the appearances and comprehending which were true and which false, so as to have *ataraxia*. But they encountered discord and, being unable to judge which appearances were true or false since the arguments seemed to be of equal strength, accordingly suspended judgment. After suspension of judgment, *ataraxia* in matters of opinion followed.⁶⁵

The Skeptic function is one of setting phenomena and concepts in opposition to one another, and it is through a recognition of the equipollence of the opposing arguments that one comes, first, to a suspension of judgment and, after that, to *ataraxia*.⁶⁶ The aim of Sextus Empiricus in his treatments of various subjects is not to affirm or deny anything with a view to persuading, but to place in opposition to every argument an equal argument.⁶⁷ As a result of this system, one seems to stop dogmatizing.⁶⁸

Suspension of judgment does not mean that the Skeptic necessarily subscribes to idleness on the basis that all is vain and useless.⁶⁹ According to Sextus Empiricus, the Skeptic follows a principle in accordance with appearances, which turns one toward living in reference to the customs, laws, and ways of life of one's country and in reference to one's own passions.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, he says that the life is regulated by four forces: (1) the guidance of nature, by which one is capable of sensation and thought; (2) the constraint of the

⁶²A detailed discussion of the Skeptic expressions is contained in Sextus Empiricus P. 1.187-209. The translations used here are in *Sextus Empiricus*, 1:107-21.

⁶³On *ataraxia*, see n. 29 *supra*.

⁶⁴Such as hunger, pain, cold, etc.

⁶⁵Sextus Empiricus P. 1.12, 26.

⁶⁶Sextus Empiricus P. 1.8.

⁶⁷Sextus Empiricus P. 1.18.

⁶⁸Sextus Empiricus P. 1.12.

⁶⁹Note, for example, the remarks on the life of Timon made by Diogenes Laertius. See pp. 7-8 *supra*.

⁷⁰Sextus Empiricus P. 1.17.

passions, by which hunger leads one to food or thirst to drink; (3) the tradition of laws and customs, by which one accepts that it is good to live piously and bad to live impiously; (4) the instruction of the arts, by which one is not inactive in the arts that he accepts.⁷¹

Though one lives according to appearances he does not use phenomena as a basis for making assertions about the underlying objects.⁷² The various treatises of Sextus Empiricus are addressed to those who dogmatically make affirmations about non-evident things. In the second and third books of the *Pyrhonian hypotyposes*, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how Skeptic methods are to be used in respect to what were considered by some schools to be the major divisions of philosophy: logic, physics, and ethics.⁷³

The Adversus mathematicos

The *Adversus mathematicos* is comprised essentially of two parts. Books 7-11, often cited as the *Adversus dogmaticos*, are a further refutation of the three divisions of philosophy--in addition to what is found in Books 2 and 3 of the *Pyrhonian hypotyposes*. Books 7 and 8 are more specifically called *Adversus logicos*, Books 9 and 10 *Adversus physicos*, and Book 11 *Adversus ethicos*.

Books 1-6 of the *Adversus mathematicos* are refutations of the μαθηματικοί (or professors) of the six subjects known as the cyclical studies that made up the basic ancient educational curriculum.⁷⁴ These six subjects were grammar, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology,⁷⁵ and music, and the individual books are accordingly entitled *Adversus grammaticos*, *Adversus rhetores*, *Adversus geometras*, *Adversus arithmeticos*, *Adversus astrologos*, and *Adversus musicos*.

Sextus Empiricus reports that a stand against the μαθηματικοί had been undertaken by two schools, the followers

⁷¹Sextus Empiricus P. 1.23.

⁷²Sextus Empiricus P. 1.19.

⁷³In M. 7.16, Sextus Empiricus defines those who divide philosophy in this way as Plato, Xenocrates, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics.

⁷⁴On the cyclical studies in antiquity, see Hermann Koller, "Εγκύκλιος παιδεία," *Glotta* 34 (1955): 174-89; and Henri Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948), pp. 243-56.

⁷⁵The distinction between astronomy and astrology is obscure at this time.

of Epicurus and the followers of Pyrrho. Epicurus claimed that the μαθήματα (or subjects of study) were of no aid in the perfection of wisdom. He was believed by many to have taken such a posture because of his own lack of education and culture. The followers of Pyrrho (as Sextus Empiricus explains), however, adopted their point of view not because of a dogmatic assertion that these subjects are useless in respect to gaining wisdom or because they themselves were lacking in education and experience. They denied the cyclical studies as valid subjects of study for the same reasons applied to philosophy in general. The Skeptics approached the study of philosophy because of the desire of attaining truth, but because they were faced with so much discord, they chose to suspend judgment. So it was, too, with these subjects: they studied them with the aim of mastery but found serious conflicts in the equal strength of opposing arguments.⁷⁶

Sextus Empiricus states that others have undertaken the refutation of these subjects. No other work, however, survives or is known from antiquity that treats such a refutation in the systematic manner of Sextus Empiricus.⁷⁷ Sextus Empiricus obviously draws upon various sources for his opposing arguments and for his definitions, but the final product seems to be original.

The Adversus musicos

The Form of the Treatise

Sextus Empiricus's *Adversus musicos* is comprised of an introduction and two major sections in which he discusses the claims of the musicians. In the introduction (paragraphs 1-5), Sextus Empiricus presents three ways in which the term "music" is used--theoretically, practically, and metaphorically--and states that he will be dealing with music in its theoretical aspects. Two approaches will be presented, which--as he claims--accord with two methods used by his predecessors who have undertaken a refutation of the musicians. He treats these in two sections that are rather distinct in nature: the first major section will be more dogmatic and the second more practical. The second type of refutation seems to accord more with Sextus Empiricus's description of the position of the Skeptic and is the sort used primarily in his refutation of

⁷⁶Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.1-7.

⁷⁷One might note, however, Seneca *Ep. mor.* 88, where Seneca expounds on the uselessness of the cyclical studies in comparison to wisdom and virtue.

other subjects. Here, he makes use also of the dogmatic methods of his predecessors because, as is explained in the *Pyr-rhonian hypotyposes*, the Skeptic must use all ways he can find to cure the conceit of the dogmatists.⁷⁸ The type of refutation that Sextus Empiricus calls dogmatic is, moreover, made to conform to Skeptic methods. He demonstrates that for every piece of evidence that is used to prove the value of music, one merely needs to look at another aspect of the same issue to arrive at a contrary conclusion. Perhaps the aspects of music treated in the first section are more suited to a dogmatic manner of argument because they do not naturally invite discussion in the same logical manner with which the technical parts of music are later handled.

The first section (paragraphs 6-27) further divides itself into two parts, each of which consists of a series of statements setting forth the value of music followed by a corresponding series of opposing arguments. The first of these parts (paragraphs 6-22) is concerned primarily with the affects of music on the soul, i.e., its ability to restrain the passions and turn one toward virtue. Some of the examples used by the dogmatists to support this view are as follows. Pythagoras was able to restrain some inebriated youths by exhorting the musician who was with them, an aulete, to play a spondeic melos. The Spartans, who were especially known for their manly spirit, were known to go to battle under the command of music. The epic hero Achilles played the lyre to soothe his anger, and other epic heroes, when leaving on an expedition, would leave their wives in the charge of bards, who, as musicians, could instill discretion in them--just as Agamemnon entrusted his wife Clytemnestra to a bard. As additional support, the musicians point out that men who are great in philosophy, such as Plato, compare the wise man to a musician, since his soul is organized by harmonia, and Socrates considered music of such importance that he was not ashamed to learn to play the lyre even when he was rather old. If poetics is of value, music will be needful since it adorns various types of poetry and arranges it into divisions. In general, music is used when people are rejoicing or grieving and in the religious functions of hymns, feasts, and sacrifices. Sextus Empiricus also points out in this part that, according to the musicians, the ancient and manly music is not to be discredited on account of the new music, which enervates with its fractured mele and effeminate rhythms. Sextus Empiricus accepts this claim and does not aim any arguments against

⁷⁸Sextus Empiricus P. 3.280-81.

the new music, since he would then not be opposing the views of these dogmatists whom he is answering. In the refutation, he sometimes directs his comments pointedly to the old music, e.g., the music of Pythagoras, Achilles, and the bards of epic times. At other times his refutation could be interpreted as pertaining to any type of music, old or new--as when he refutes the concepts of sound and rhythm.

In the refutation that corresponds to the first set of claims made on behalf of music, Sextus Empiricus first presents a general case against music having the inherent capacity to restrain the passions. In this, he makes use of the Skeptic modes of Aenesidemus,⁷⁹ pointing out that when one assigns certain qualities to the various sorts of *mele*, he is making a general conclusion based on a subjective observation. As an example, he points out that many people suppose a crash of thunder signifies a manifestation of a god; yet others, such as the Epicureans, attribute it to natural elements. In the same way, a given *melos* may seem to have one affect on a man, but that does not mean that the *melos* is such by nature, for it may affect others in a different manner. Even if music seems to restrain the passions, this may not be because it has the capacity to bestow virtue, but because it distracts the mind.

Sextus Empiricus now presents arguments in opposition to the examples used by the musicians that he has outlined. Pythagoras did not show very good sense in dealing with the intoxicated youths--he should have turned away from them. Moreover, this story seems to point out that auletes have more power than philosophers in the correction of *ethoses*. The Spartans' use of music when going to war merely demonstrates the capacity of music to distract the mind, just like the use of music in other distressing or toilsome activities, such as carrying heavy burdens or rowing a ship. It has nothing to do with the development of manly courage--one of the virtues--since certain barbarian peoples also use music in battle. The practice of music by Achilles is only another symptom of his amorous and intemperate nature. The effectiveness of the practice of the ancient epic heroes in entrusting their wives to bards does not withstand scrutiny. Agamemnon, upon his return from the expedition to Troy, was slain by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus; and Odysseus, another of the Greek heroes who sailed to Ilium, returned home to find that his wife was being courted by a throng of young suitors. The views of Plato in respect to music are not necessarily

⁷⁹See p. 11 *supra*.

correct, since others who are just as trustworthy, such as the followers of Epicurus, deny these things. Finally, those who would base the usefulness of music on its connection with poetics are simple-minded, since one needs first to establish the need for poetics. Even if one were to assume the usefulness of poetics it does not follow that music, too, is therefore useful, since the utility may be dependent on what is contained in the poetics alone.

The second part of the first section (paragraphs 23-27) treats the importance of music in connection with paideia, philosophy, and ethos. Another series of claims is made on behalf of music: one educated in music takes more delight from things heard musically; men must receive training at an early age by those who are educated in music in order to become good; the same elements pertain to music and to the understanding of the subjects in philosophy; the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia; and certain types of mele form the ethos or character of the soul.

As before, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates that arguments stand in opposition to these views. Although musicians may apprehend music better in its technical aspects, they do not necessarily take more delight in it than the common people: music puts infants to sleep and is said to charm the irrational animals, neither of which is likely to have experience or conception of music. Likewise, just as one enjoys food or wine without being educated in the arts of cookery or wine-tasting, one can enjoy listening to music without musical education. Musical training at an early age does not necessarily make one good, since it can also be argued that music can have a contrary influence, causing the young to be easily led into licentiousness. It is not to be assumed that music and philosophy are defined by the same elements, for Sextus Empiricus says that the idea of the cosmos being ordered in accord with harmonia can be opposed in various ways--though no specific argument is actually presented. Finally, there have already been stated in the previous portion of the treatise arguments that oppose the doctrine of the ethical capacity of music.

In the second, more practical section of the treatise, the technical aspect of music is discussed. This section, too, is comprised to two parts in which Sextus Empiricus outlines the claims of the musicians and then demonstrates arguments that oppose these claims. In the first part (paragraphs 29-42), Sextus Empiricus treats melos, and in the second (paragraphs 43-50), rhythm.

Sextus Empiricus begins the first part on melos with a definition of sound and some of the properties that may be predicated on sound. The term "note," as a specific sort of

sound, is then defined, and homophonous, dissonant, and consonant notes are described. From this point, Sextus Empiricus explains how notes make up the intervals and the melodic genera.

The corresponding refutation demonstrates that the technical theory, which Sextus Empiricus has briefly outlined, cannot be asserted as fact. Notes, intervals, and the genera all depend on the existence of sound, which Sextus Empiricus opposes with a series of arguments. Some of these are based on what other philosophers have postulated concerning sound and sense-objects in general. The major arguments presented here are as follows. According to the Cyrenaics, only the passions (*πάθη*) exist, but sound is not a passion. Democritus and Plato abolish sense-objects, and sound seems to be a sense-object. The Peripatetics demonstrate that sound is not a body, but the Stoics say that it is a body; therefore--like a cancellation in an algebraic equation--there is no sound. Sextus Empiricus says that he has shown elsewhere that there is no soul, of which the senses are a part; and if there are no senses, there are no sense-objects, such as sound. If sound exists, it is either long or short, but Sextus Empiricus has demonstrated elsewhere that it is neither long nor short. Finally, sound is not said to be, but to become.⁸⁰ Since it has been demonstrated that there is no sound, it follows that there is no note nor interval nor the genera nor music.

Similar in method to the first part is the second part, which treats rhythm. Sextus Empiricus begins by analyzing rhythm in its component parts: rhythm is composed of feet, which are in turn composed of arsis and thesis; and arsis and thesis are made of chronoi.⁸¹ The existence of rhythm is, therefore, dependent on the existence of chronos, so Sextus Empiricus demonstrates how the existence of chronos can be opposed. If chronos exists, it is either limited or unlimited, and it is shown to be neither of these. Since it is composed of things that do not exist--i.e., the past, which is no longer and the future, which is not yet--chronos does not exist. Chronos is either divisible or indivisible, but since it can be demonstrated that it is neither, it does not exist. Since chronos does not exist, neither do feet nor rhythms nor the science of rhythms.

⁸⁰On the distinction between being and becoming, see n. 128 in the translation.

⁸¹"Chronos" generally means "time." See n. 141 in the translation.

One must note that it is not the aim of Sextus Empiricus in the *Adversus musicos* to disprove the value or existence of music. He is addressing the dogmatic theorists and other advocates of the value and nature of music and is demonstrating that it is vain to hold to doctrines that go beyond the acceptance of phenomena.⁸² In response to the arguments that support the philosophical and technical theories of music, one can present contrary arguments of equal strength. As a result of the recognition of this, one suspends judgment and approaches ataraxia.

Major Parallel Sources

There are other authors of antiquity who introduce material that is also used by Sextus Empiricus in the *Adversus musicos*. Although this does not necessarily prove a source relationship, the possibility of some relationship cannot be eliminated. Major parallels are to be found in the writings of Philodemus, Quintilian, Aristotle, Plutarch, and the music theorists of the Aristoxenian tradition.

Philodemus

The parallels in the first section between Sextus Empiricus and Philodemus, an Epicurean philosopher of the first century B.C., have been noted by others.⁸³ Philodemus takes a stand against the value of music in its ethical and

⁸²See the discussion on the aims of Skepticism, pp. 17-18 *supra*.

⁸³See especially Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899; reprint ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968), pp. 37-43. Many of the parallels are also noted in the edition of J. Mau. Philodemus's *De musica* was unknown in modern times until fragments of it and several other prose works of Philodemus were discovered on charred papyri at Herculaneum. The fragments of the *De musica* have been edited and arranged by Johannes Kemke, *Philodemi de musica librorum quae exstant* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1884). On the text of the *De musica*, see also Otto Luschkat, *Zum Text von Philodemus Schrift De Musica*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Hellenistisch-Römische Philosophie, no. 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953). On the work in general, see Annemarie Jeanette Neubecker, *Die Bewertung der Musik bei Stoikern und Epikureern. Eine Analyse von Philodems Schrift De musica*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Griechisch-Römische Altertumskunde. Arbeitsgruppe für Hellenistisch-

philosophical aspects, consistent with the view of Epicurus in respect to the arts that Sextus Empiricus presents.⁸⁴ In the surviving fragments of Philodemus's *De musica*, passages can be found that correspond to nearly all of the ideas that Sextus Empiricus presents in the first section of his treatise. As a major exception, there is no fragment in which Philodemus refers to the use of music by Achilles.⁸⁵ This exception is not significant when one considers the quantity of Philodemus's *De musica* that is lost and that could have more thoroughly covered this subject as well as others.

Specific examples that are used by both Sextus Empiricus and Philodemus include: Pythagoras restraining some youths by having the aulete play a spondeic melos,⁸⁶ Clytemnestra being left in the care of a bard,⁸⁷ Socrates being willing to learn to play the lyre in his old age,⁸⁸ and the military use of music among the Spartans.⁸⁹

The similarity of vocabulary is also noteworthy in several other places. Both authors discuss the capacity of music to lead a person into licentiousness (εἰς ἀκολασίαν),⁹⁰ refer to the use of music in the correction of ethoses (ἠθῶν ἐπανόρθωσις),⁹¹ present the argument that music distracts (περὶσπᾶ) the mind rather than restrains the passions,⁹² and discuss the use of music in toilsome labors (ἐπίπονα ἔργα).⁹³

Römische Philosophie, no. 5 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956) and Warren Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 153-76.

⁸⁴Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.1-4.

⁸⁵See Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.9, 19.

⁸⁶Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 58.16-31); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.7, 17.

⁸⁷Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 20.23-27); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.10, 20.

⁸⁸Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 94.31-40); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

⁸⁹Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 27.22-28.13); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.8, 18.

⁹⁰Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 78.28-32); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.26.

⁹¹Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.24); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.17.

⁹²Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 95.9-14); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.16.

⁹³Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 71.7.25-72.8.25); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.18.

One might also compare the phrases ἐγκακλασμένη φωνή⁹⁴ and κκακλασμένα μέλη,⁹⁵ as used by the two authors.

More general comparisons can be drawn in the discussions of the relationship of music to philosophy,⁹⁶ music in the development of the virtues,⁹⁷ harmonia in the order of the cosmos,⁹⁸ harmonia in the soul,⁹⁹ the need of musical education,¹⁰⁰ and whether melos has inherent ethical and other qualities.¹⁰¹ Philodemus, as an Epicurean and an opponent of music, presents a case against the positive capacities of music. Sextus Empiricus, on the other hand, brings arguments against the musicians in order to demonstrate the need for suspension of judgment.

Quintilian

Another figure of significance in connection with the first section of the *Adversus musicos* is Quintilian, a Latin author of the late first century A.D.. In his *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian discusses why one ought to be instructed in the "cyclical education" (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) prior to the serious study of rhetoric.¹⁰² While he implies that the other subjects of education are to be included, Quintilian devotes the majority of his discussion to geometry and music. Many of the points that he uses as evidence of the value of music correspond to those that appear in Sextus Empiricus.

Near the beginning of his discussion of music, Quintilian points out the position of music in its long-established relationship to literature (especially poetry), mentioning in

⁹⁴Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 80.25-26).

⁹⁵Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.12. One must note that this term is found also in Plutarch *De mus.* 21(1138C).

⁹⁶Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 19.32.10, 92.23.37); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6, 23, 27.

⁹⁷Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 55.77.15-17, 95.20-21); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6-26 *passim*.

⁹⁸Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.6-18, 101.31.10-24); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.23, 27.

⁹⁹Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 31.23.1-6, 32.26.9-12); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

¹⁰⁰Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 63.33-38, 66.4.15-67.4.27, 77.12.25-26); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.23, 27.

¹⁰¹Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 12.1-16, 15.7-9, 63.15-64.43, 71.7.25-35, 72.8.2-3); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.6-27 *passim*, 35.

¹⁰²Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.

particular Homer and the lyric poets.¹⁰³ Sextus Empiricus acknowledges this claim but indicates its faults: if one is to establish the value of music by its connection to poetry, one must first establish the usefulness of poetics.¹⁰⁴ Even if one accepts the usefulness of poetics, this is not necessarily a strong case for music: poetics may benefit and give discretion, but music itself is concerned with melos and is naturally disposed to give delight (not benefit or discretion).

The concept of the harmony of the spheres is introduced in the discussions of both authors. According to Quintilian, the harmony of the spheres is a proof that one should study music in order to understand the words of philosophers, and he names Plato's *Timaeus* as a particular example.¹⁰⁵ Sextus Empiricus claims that the idea can be proved false by a variety of proofs but, unfortunately for the modern reader, does not elaborate on any of these.¹⁰⁶

The story of Socrates and his willingness to begin the study of the lyre even though rather advanced in years appears in both authors.¹⁰⁷ Although he mentions this in the section where he reviews the arguments that others have given for music, Sextus Empiricus does not deal with it in his refutation.

Quintilian tells how the armies of the Lacedaemonians (as well as those of Rome) were aroused to their martial valor by music, and in close connection with this, he mentions how nature herself seems to have given music the capacity to lighten work. He gives as an example the way in which song encourages a rower.¹⁰⁸ Sextus Empiricus acknowledges these claims but treats them as evidence that music distracts the mind, not that it has any value in the production of manly valor.¹⁰⁹

Quintilian implies that the value of musical education can be inferred from its having endured to his own day from remote antiquity when Cheiron taught Achilles (that is, by all except those who especially hate proper instruction, and here he may be defending himself against the attitudes of Epicureans or Skeptics).¹¹⁰ As Quintilian continues, he is

¹⁰³Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10.

¹⁰⁴Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.13, 22.

¹⁰⁵Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12-13.

¹⁰⁶Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.27.

¹⁰⁷Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.13; Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.11.

¹⁰⁸Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.14.

¹⁰⁹Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.8, 18.

¹¹⁰Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.30.

careful to point out that he is referring not to the modern music, which has been weakened and fractured, but to the old music by which the praises of the brave were sung and which even brave men themselves sung.¹¹¹ Sextus Empiricus mentions the transmission of music from antiquity and attests that those who defend music say that they support the old and manly music, not the new, which is weak and fractured.¹¹²

Quintilian refers to the capacity of music to move and soften the emotions or passions (*affectus*). He then briefly relates the story of Pythagoras restraining some youths who were roused to commit an outrage against a respectable household, which he did by ordering the pipe-player to change the measure to the spondaic.¹¹³ Sextus Empiricus relates a similar anecdote about Pythagoras after referring to the capacity of music to restrain the passions, but he says that if the story proves anything, it shows that the auletes have more power than philosophers in correcting ethoses.¹¹⁴

As additional support of the power of music, Quintilian refers to the practice of singing an infant to sleep.¹¹⁵ Sextus Empiricus mentions this practice in a rather different context in paragraph 24, where he uses it as evidence that one need not necessarily be educated in music in order to enjoy it. Both Quintilian and Sextus Empiricus refer to the use of music at feasts and in hymns.¹¹⁶

Aristotle

In the second major section of the *Adversus musicos*, Sextus Empiricus uses, in addition to the modes that lead to suspension of judgment, logical methods that can be traced to the writings of Aristotle.¹¹⁷ Aristotle in the *Topica* writes:

If you have not a supply of material for arguing against the thesis, you should look for arguments taken from the

¹¹¹Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31.

¹¹²Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.12.

¹¹³Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31-32.

¹¹⁴Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.7, 17.

¹¹⁵Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31.

¹¹⁶Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.20; Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.14.

¹¹⁷Relationships between the thought of Aristotle and Sextus Empiricus have been demonstrated by others. A. A. Long, in "Aristotle and the History of Greek Skepticism," in *Studies in Aristotle*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara, *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*, vol. 9 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), pp. 79-106, notes

real or generally accepted definitions of the subject under discussion, and if you cannot argue from one, you must argue from several. For it is easier to attack the subject when you have made definitions; for the attack is easier when it is aimed at definitions.¹¹⁸

Definitions provide the framework for the second, "more practical" part of the *Adversus musicos*. Sextus Empiricus begins this section by defining music as "a science of the emmelic and ecmelic, the rhythmic and nonrhythmic"¹¹⁹ and proceeds with a refutation of melos and then of rhythm.

It is again by means of established definitions that Sextus Empiricus builds a basis for his arguments that oppose concepts of melos and rhythm. He puts forth sound as "the sense-object proper to hearing"¹²⁰ and a note as "a fall of emmelic sound on one pitch."¹²¹ The concepts of a note as dependent on sound and of sound as a sense-object are central to his refutation of melos. Likewise, it is through definitions of rhythm, foot, and arsis and thesis¹²² that Sextus Empiricus lays the foundation for his refutation of rhythm.

The *Topica* also contains this admonition:

You must examine as regards the subject in hand what it is on the existence of which the existence of the subject

parallels between Aristotle and Sextus Empiricus and puts forth the view that Aristotle anticipated Skepticism and defended against it in his writings. Felix Greycff, in *Aristotle and His School* (London: G. Duckworth & Co., 1974), especially pp. 100-106, also notes parallels and expresses the opinion that by the time of Aristotle, a Skeptic movement of the type that Sextus Empiricus describes was fully developed. Note also McMahon, pp. 79-137, where it is demonstrated that the refutations in the writings of Sextus Empiricus are dependent upon the theory of substance as expressed by Aristotle.

¹¹⁸Μὴ εὐποροῦντι δὲ ἐπιχειρήματος πρὸς τὴν θέσιν σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁρισμῶν, ἢ τῶν ὄντων τοῦ προκειμένου πράγματος ἢ τῶν δοκούντων, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πλειόνων. ῥᾶν γὰρ ὁρισαμένοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔσται· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς ῥᾶν ἢ ἐπιχειρήσεις" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.4 [11b12-16]; translation in Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, trans. Hugh Tredennick and E. S. Forster, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960], pp. 349-51).

¹¹⁹Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.28.

¹²⁰Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.29.

¹²¹Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.31.

¹²²Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.44.

depends, or what necessarily exists if the subject exists. For constructive purposes, you must examine what it is on the existence of which the existence of the subject will depend (for if the former has been shown to exist, the subject will have been shown to exist); for destructive purposes, we must examine what exists if the subject exists; for if we show that what is consequent upon the subject does not exist, then we shall have demolished the subject.¹²³

It is pointed out at the beginning of the section that if *mele* and rhythms do not exist, neither does music, since its existence is dependent upon them.¹²⁴ The procedure that Sextus Empiricus accordingly adopts is one of refuting the existence of *melos* and then rhythm. In his refutation of *melos*, Sextus Empiricus first establishes that the melodic features of music--such as intervals and the genera--are dependent upon notes, which are in turn dependent upon sound. He then demonstrates a series of arguments by which the existence of sound is opposed. In his refutation of rhythm, Sextus Empiricus demonstrates that the parts of rhythm are dependent upon *chronos* and then offers a series of proofs by which it may be shown that there is no *chronos*.

Another method that is essential to the *Adversus musicos* is argument based on ambiguity of term, and it is also outlined in Aristotle's *Topica*:

Furthermore, if a term is used with more than one meaning and it has been stated that it belongs to or does not belong to something, we ought to demonstrate one of the several meanings if it is impossible to demonstrate both. . . . If we wish to argue constructively, we shall show that the attribute belongs in one of its senses, if we cannot show it belongs in both. For destructive criticism,

¹²³"Σκοπεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου, τίνος ὄντος τὸ προκειμένον ἔστιν, ἢ τί ἔστιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰ τὸ προκειμένον ἔστι--κατασκευάζειν μὲν βουλομένῳ, τίνος ὄντος τὸ προκειμένον ἔσται (ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δειχθῇ ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ προκειμένον δε-δειγμένον ἔσται), ἀνασκευάζειν δὲ βουλομένῳ, τί ἔστιν εἰ τὸ προκειμένον ἔστιν· ἐὰν γὰρ δεῖξωμεν τὸ ἀνόλουθον τῷ προκειμένῳ μὴ ὄν, ἀνηρηκότες ἐσόμεθα τὸ προκειμένον" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.4 [111b17-23]; translation in *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, p. 351).

¹²⁴Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.28.

we shall show that one of its senses does not belong, if we cannot show that both do not do so.¹²⁵

The refutation of rhythm is based on a refutation of *chronos*, upon which it is established that rhythm depends. The word "*chronos*" is a technical term used by the musicians to designate a unit of rhythm, but it is also used to indicate "time" in a more general sense. The arguments that Sextus Empiricus brings against *chronos* treat it in its more general sense, but the treatise assumes that a refutation of *chronos* in the one sense is also a refutation of *chronos* in its other sense.

In addition to logical methods, Sextus Empiricus draws on the works of Aristotle, whether directly or through an intermediate source, for the material for specific discussions. Examples may be found in the *Politica*, *De anima*, *De audibilibus*, and *Physica*.

When Aristotle, in the *Politica*,¹²⁶ raises the question whether education in musical performance is necessary in order to enjoy music correctly and, if it is in fact necessary, to what extent one should be so educated, he suggests an analogy between music and cooking: if it were proper for the young to be educated in music to the same extent as a professional performer, it would also be proper for them to undertake the occupation of cooking.¹²⁷ Sextus Empiricus uses this same analogy in an embellished form when he points out that one enjoys tasting food and wine without the arts of cookery and wine-tasting and that, therefore, those who are educated in music may apprehend it better in a technical sense but get no more enjoyment than the common person.¹²⁸

In his *De anima*, Aristotle introduces a discussion on the senses in which he treats the sense-objects proper to each

¹²⁵"Ἐτι ἐὰν πολλαχῶς λέγηται, κείμενον δὲ ἢ ὡς ὑπάρχει ἢ ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχει, θάτερον δεικνύναι τῶν πλεοναχῶς λεγόμενων, ἐὰν μὴ ἄμφω ἐνδέχῃται. . . . κατασκευάζειν μὲν γὰρ βουλόμενοι δεῖξομεν ὅτι θάτερον ὑπάρχει, ἐὰν μὴ ἄμφω δυνώμεθα ἀνασκευάζοντες δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχει θάτερον δεῖξομεν, ἐὰν μὴ ἄμφω δυνώμεθα" (Aristotle *Topica* 2.3 [110a23-25, 29-32]; translation in *Posterior Analytics*; *Topica*, pp. 339, 341).

¹²⁶Aristotle *Politica* 8 (1339a39-40).

¹²⁷Aristotle arrives at the conclusion that children should be educated in musical performance to a point comfortably below professional proficiency.

¹²⁸Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.25.

of the particular senses as well as sense-objects in common.¹²⁹ Color is proper to sight, sound (ᾠή) to hearing, flavor to taste, and a variety of objects to touch. In contrast, perception of movement, rest, number, form, and magnitude are common to two or more of the senses. This is the background for paragraph 29 of the *Adversus musicos*, where Sextus Empiricus defines sound (ᾠή) as the sense-object proper to hearing and embellishes this with a brief description of the sense-objects proper to the other senses.

Aristotle, again in the *De anima*, notes that the terms "sharp" (ὀξύ) and "heavy" (βαρύ), which are used in music to indicate high and low pitch, are so called by metaphor from the sphere of tangible things.¹³⁰ Sextus Empiricus, too, notes how the terms "sharp" and "heavy" take "the reference rather metaphorically from the sense-objects of touch."¹³¹

In the *Topica* and *De audibilibus*, Aristotle undertakes a discussion of ambiguous terms and how they may be appropriately used of more than one object.¹³² It is demonstrated how the terms λευκός (white, clear), γαῖός (gray), and μέλας (black, dim) are applied to both color and sound. This is the basis for the demonstration of the metaphorical application to sound of terms that are more proper to other spheres, which Sextus Empiricus makes in paragraph 30. Just as one may call a sound gray, black, or white--terms properly applied to color--it is acceptable to use the terms sharp and heavy--terms proper to touch--in connection with sound.

At one point in the *Physica*, Aristotle discusses some difficulties in the nature and existence of time (chronos).¹³³ Because of these difficulties, one would suspect either that there is no chronos at all or that it is obscure and without definition. Sextus Empiricus, in his discussion of chronos, seems to be following Aristotle. For example, Aristotle points out that, of time, one part is past and no longer is, and the

¹²⁹Aristotle *De anima* 2.6.

¹³⁰ταῦτα [τὸ ὀξύ καὶ τὸ βαρύ] δὲ λέγεται κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπτόντων (Aristotle *De anima* 2.8 [420a29-30]). This parallel is also discussed briefly by Albrecht Riethmüller, "Die Hinfälligkeit musiktheoretischer Prinzipien nach Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus musicos*," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1975): 188.

¹³¹Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.30.

¹³²Aristotle *Topica* 1.15 (106a23-106b12, 107a37-107b5) and *Aud.* (802a2).

¹³³Aristotle *Physica* 4.10.

other part is future and is not yet. What is composed from things that do not exist would seem to be incapable of part-taking of essence.¹³⁴ Sextus Empiricus points out that "the past part is no longer, the future is not yet" and that "what has been composed from nonexistents is nonexistent. Chronos, since it is composed from what has past and no longer is and from what is future and is not yet, will be nonexistent."¹³⁵

Aristotle further states that if something divisible exists, it is necessary that, when it exists, either all of the parts or only some of them exist. Of chronos, some parts are past and others are future, but none of them is: the present is not a part. The part measures the whole and the whole must be composed of the parts, but chronos does not seem to be composed of "nows."¹³⁶ Sextus Empiricus seems to be drawing from this and elaborating on it when he says that if chronos is divisible, it will be necessary that it be measured by one of its parts, since everything divisible is measured by a part of itself. One cannot measure chronos by the present, since the past and the future will thereby also be present, and one cannot measure chronos by the past or future because of the same sort of difficulty.¹³⁷

Plutarch

The *Adversus musicos* also presents some parallels with passages found in the writings of Plutarch. As an example of the capacity of music to soothe one who is angered, Sextus Empiricus in paragraph 9 quotes some lines from the *Iliad* that describe how Achilles was delighting his heart by playing upon

¹³⁴ τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, τὸ δὲ μέλλει καὶ οὐπω ἔστιν' . . . τὸ δὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων συγκείμενον ἀδύνατον ἂν εἶναι δόξειε μετέχειν οὐσίας (Aristotle *Physica* 4.10 [217b33-218a3]).

¹³⁵ τὸ μὲν παρψημένον οὐκέτι ἔστι τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐπω ἔστι. . . τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνυπάρκτων συνεστὼς ἀνυπαρκτὸν ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐκ τε τοῦ παρψημένου καὶ μηκέτ' ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος μηδέπω δὲ ὄντος συνεστὼς ἀνυπαρκτος ἔσται" (Sextus Empiricus *M.* 49, 47).

¹³⁶ πρὸς δὲ τοῦτους παντὸς μεριστοῦ, ἅνπερ ἡ, ἀνάγκη, ὅτε ἔστιν, ἦτοι πάντα τὰ μέρη εἶναι ἢ ἓν· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου τὰ μὲν γέγονε τὰ δὲ μέλλει, ἔστι δ' οὐδέν, ὄντος μεριστοῦ. τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐ μέρος· μετρεῖ γὰρ τὸ μέρος, καὶ συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῶν μερῶν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὐ δοκεῖ συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν νῦν (Aristotle *Physica* 4.10 [218a3-8]).

¹³⁷ Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.48.

the lyre.¹³⁸ The same four lines are also quoted in Plutarch's *De musica*.¹³⁹ Plutarch uses this as evidence that music is fitting for a man, but Sextus Empiricus offers a contrary interpretation: it may be another symptom of the amorous and intemperate disposition of Achilles.¹⁴⁰

As a demonstration that one need not have musical experience in order to enjoy music, Sextus Empiricus says that "the irrational of the animals are charmed by the aulos and syrinx (so dolphins, as the account goes, delighting in the melodies of auloi, swim toward ships as they are being rowed)."¹⁴¹ Plutarch, in *Quaestiones convivales*, points out that many irrational animals are charmed by music, just as stags are charmed by syringes. He goes on to quote a passage of Pindar that uses the image of the melos of auloi moving a dolphin.¹⁴² And in *Septem sapientium convivium*, Plutarch remarks that dolphins are charmed by auloi and mele and that they delight in swimming alongside a boat as it is being rowed to the accompaniment of song and the sound of an aulos.¹⁴³ The similarity of vocabulary in these two passages may indicate a common source. Both authors specify irrational animals (τὰ ἄλογα), use the verb κηλεῖται (are charmed), mention specifically the syrinx and aulos, and speak of dolphins that, while taking delight (τερπόμενοι, τερπόμενα), swim toward or beside (προσνήχονται, παρανήχονται) boats as they are being rowed.

¹³⁸Homer *Iliad* 9.186-89.

¹³⁹Sextus Empiricus does not quote the last half of line 189 as Plutarch does, which clarifies that Achilles was singing the glorious deeds of men (ᾄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν).

¹⁴⁰Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.19.

¹⁴¹Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.24.

¹⁴²ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ μουσικῇ πολλὰ κηλεῖται τῶν ἀλόγων, ὥσπερ ἔλαφου σύριγγιν, . . . ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρός φησι κεκλιῆσθαι πρὸς ψῶδην

ἀλίου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν·

τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει

αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος

(Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 7.5.2 [704F-705A]). The last three lines are Pindar fragment 235 (Schroeder) or 125 (Bowra).

¹⁴³εἴπερ οὖν οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἰκειῶς καὶ φιλανθρωπῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθάνοντας, εἴτε μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι τοῖς ζῶσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα κληθεῖντας αὐλοῖς ἢ τισι μέλεσι. τοῦτ' γὰρ ἦδη πάντες ἴσμεν, καὶ παρανήχονται τοῖς ἐλαυνομένοις πρὸς ψῶδην καὶ αὐλον ἐν εὐδία πορεύαις τερπόμενα (Plutarch *Septem sapientium convivium* 162F).

A third parallel with Plutarch occurs in paragraph 38, when Sextus Empiricus is constructing a proof that there is no sound. Part of his argument is based on the position of the Peripatetics and Stoics in respect to sound. According to the Peripatetics, sound is a body, but according to the Stoics it is not a body. Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* contains a brief discussion where these doctrines of the two schools are presented and explained, one right after the other.¹⁴⁴

Aristoxenian theorists

For the technical aspects of music, Sextus Empiricus seems to draw primarily from the theorists of the Aristoxenian tradition. For example, the division of music into the seven parts of genera, intervals, notes, scales, tonoi, modulation, and melic composition is Aristoxenian.¹⁴⁵ Sextus Empiricus states in paragraph 1: "[music] is a science concerned with melodies, notes, rhythmic compositions, and parallel subjects"; it is in connection with this sense of "music" that Aristoxenus is mentioned.

The definition of a note found in Aristoxenus's *Harmonica* is "φωνῆς πῶσις ἐπὶ μίαν τᾶσιν," and the definition as found in the later Aristoxenian theorists is based on this.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, Sextus Empiricus defines a note as "ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς πῶσις ὑπὸ μίαν τᾶσιν."¹⁴⁷

The discussions of Sextus Empiricus on the subjects of consonant and dissonant notes, intervals, and the three melodic genera are also based on the theory of Aristoxenus.¹⁴⁸

The Manuscripts

The *Adversus musicos* of Sextus Empiricus survives in twenty-eight manuscripts, ranging from the fourteenth century through the seventeenth century, and in the preparation of the present edition, microfilms of twenty-five of these were used (on the codices not available, see pp. 108-9 *infra*). The contents and general features of these twenty-five manuscripts are described below in the order of their authority for the establishment of the text of the *Adversus musicos*. The order of authority is approximate, based on a consideration of fami-

¹⁴⁴Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.20 (902F-903A).

¹⁴⁵See n. 2 in the translation.

¹⁴⁶See n. 103 in the translation.

¹⁴⁷Sextus Empiricus *M.* 6.31.

¹⁴⁸See nn. 105, 109, 110, 115, 117 in the translation.

lies and subgroups of manuscripts rather than each individual manuscript. In the transcription, diacritical marks have been corrected or changed to conform to modern convention, and iota subscripts have been added where they were omitted. Orthography, however, has not been corrected and is consistent with the manuscripts.

F

Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11

i, 348 ff., 28 x 20.5 cm., chartaceous, 2 columns, 30 lines
8 September 1465 by Thomas Prodromites

1. 1v-2r *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant*
inc.: Τὰ αἴτια κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττά
εἰσι· συνεκτικὰ· συναίτια· ἢ συνεργά·
exp.: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις ἡ φυσικὴ μετα-
βολὴ ἡ αὔξησις ἡ μείωσις ἡ γένεσις ἡ φθορά:
2. 2v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων
3r-26r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ πρῶτον:
inc.: Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἢ εὖρεσιν ἐπακο-
λουθεῖν εἰκόσ, ἢ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
3. 26r-v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων
ὑποτυπώσεων>
26v-54v Πυρ[ρ *sup. lin.*]ωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων· τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ δεύτερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-
τικούς μετήλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα· τέλος· τέλος
Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, δεύτερον:
4. 54v Τάδε ἔνεστι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
55r-86r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ τρίτον:
inc.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης
φιλοσοφίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ὥς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον: [*in marg.*
sup.]
5. 86r *inc.*: Ὡ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλέον
οὐδέν, . . .

- exp.*: . . . τὰ πρώτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφύης κατέγνωσ:
6. 86r-119v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
 ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ
 δεῖ λέγειν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
7. 119v-130r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικοὺς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
 ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
 λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
 μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
8. 130r-141v Πρὸς γεωμέτρους: τέλος:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
 . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοὺς γεωμέ-
 τρους ἀφαρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
9. 141v-144v Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν, ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
 συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
 ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
10. 144v-153r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
 ζητῆσαι . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
 ἀποδώσομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους· ἥτοι μαθη-
 ματικούς:
11. 153r-159r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
 τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τῆς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
 διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
12. 159r-202v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
 πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
 χαρακτῆρ . . .

- exp.*: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν: τέλος τέλος
 Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν: τέλος
13. 202v-203r <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον:>
 203r-248v *inc.*: "Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι
 παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν
 χωρήσομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων:
14. 248v-289r <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:>
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἁσωμάτων·
 ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τούτῃ:
15. 289r-321r <Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:>
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
 προηπορημένους ἡμῖν . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
 Ὑπομνημάτων· ἕννατον:
16. 321r-345v <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
 δέκατον:> Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
 ἀπορίας· . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Ὑπομνημάτων δέκατον: Σέξτου σκεπτικοῦ τῶν
 πρὸς ἀντίρρῃσιν α̅ β̅ γ̅ δ̅ ε̅ ζ̅ η̅ θ̅ ι̅:
- colophon: Εὐτύχει ἐν πολλοῖς χρόνοις σοφὲ δέσποτα βίβλου:
 τέλος
 ὁ ταῦτα γράφας> Θωμᾶς ὁ Προδρομῆτης:
 Δόξαν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν: *σχον'* ἰνδ. ιγ'
 Σεπτεμβρίου η'

Before folio 1, there is an unnumbered blank folio, and the recto side of folio 1 is blank; at the end of the manuscript are three blank folios.

The explicit of item 1 may have other punctuation that cannot be distinguished on the film because of the condition of the paper. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text.

At the bottom of f. 345v, there are, in a later hand, passages quoted from the Vulgate, taken from I Corinthians 1.2, Galatians 2.19-20, II Corinthians 1.12, and a short passage that seems to be nonbiblical.

B

Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45

188 surviving ff., 31 x 21 cm., membranaceous, 30 lines
15th century (late)

1. 3r-29r <Πυρρωνεύων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὰ πρῶ-
τον:>
inc.: εὐρηκέναι μὲν δοκοῦσιν . . . 'Αριστοτέλην
καὶ 'Επι- . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:

29v *legi non potest*
2. 30r-60r <Πυρρωνεύων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὰ δεύ-
τερον:>
inc.: <'Ε>πεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογ-
ματικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:

60v *legi non potest*
3. 61r-94r <Πυρρωνεύων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὰ τρί-
τον:>
inc.: Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῆς συγγραφῆς
καὶ τὸ φυσικὸν μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιόντες· . . .
exp.: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῇ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
4. 94r-127r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ
δεῖ λέγειν:
5. 127r-137v <Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:>
inc.: <Τ>οὗς περὶ γραμματικοὺς [*mut. ex γραμ-
ματικῆς*] διεξοδεύουσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη
καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
6. 137v-148v <Πρὸς γεωμέτρους:>
inc.: <'Ε>πεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
7. 149r-152r Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: 'Επειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν, ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς

συνεχέσει σώμασιν . . .

exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:

Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:

8. 152r-161r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
<Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους· ἦτοι
μαθηματικούς:

9. 161r-167r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:

10. 167r-184v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . ὅμως οὐ πιστεύει..τοιαύτη φαντασίᾳ
διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ἄλλης περισπᾶσθαι καθ' ἣν ἦδε ἀπο-
λε- . . . [λουπῶς *in reclam.*]

11. 242r-248v <Τῶν Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύτερον:>
inc.: ἔστιν ὁ προφορικός. καὶ δώμεν δὲ δια-
φερεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων τὸν ἀνθρώπον. . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ ὁ ἔχων τὴν
εἰδικὴν ἀπόδειξιν . . . [εὐθέως *in reclam.*]

The manuscript has been rather heavily damaged--perhaps by water. Titles, subheads, and initial letters are washed out in the first treatise and to a lesser extent in the rest. The first folio is numbered "3," and, apparently, the first book of the Πυρρώνειαι ὑποτυπώσεις started on folio 3r. The left side of f. 3 is mostly gone, and what is there cannot be read; much of f. 4 is also gone. There are also holes in ff. 5-9 and 12. Folio 29v originally contained a list of chapter headings for item 2, and f. 60v contained a list of chapter headings for item 3, but due to the condition of the manuscript, neither can be clearly read. Folios 144 and 185-241 are missing.

The incipit indicated for item 1 is comprised of the first words that, on the film, are discernible and come from P. 1.3. The first paragraph of item 3 is gone. Item 10 breaks off at M. 7.180. Item 11 begins at M. 8.287 and ends at M. 8.349.

Me

Mertonensis gr. 304

371 ff., 33 x 22.5 cm., chartaceous, 30 lines
16th century

1. 1r-35v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας· ἃ
δεῦ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ· περὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς:
2. 35v-46v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῖς γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῶν
ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν
. . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρως καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
3. 47r-58v Πρὸς γεωμετρίας:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνωρῶντες τὸ
πλήθος . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῖς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τε [*sup. lin.*] καὶ τέμνειν
ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρως:
4. 58v-61v Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητικοὺς ἀντίρρησιν
ποιησόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
5. 61v-71r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους ἥτοι μαθη-
ματικούς:
6. 71r-77r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:

7. 77v-121r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως χαρακτηρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Τέλος τοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου:
8. 121r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν. τὸ δεύτερον:
121v-168r *inc.*: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζητήσιν, χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου τοῦ ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἔβδομον:
9. 168v-206r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὃ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων, ὁμοίός ἐστι τούτῳ:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
10. 206r-238v Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοῦς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
11. 238v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων, τὸ δέκατον: τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
239r-261v *inc.*: Τὰς μὲν κομίζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ἀπορίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον.
τέλος τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρῃσιν δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:
12. 262r-267v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους:
ζητεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα [*in marg.* σύνταγμα *et in m. post.* μᾶλλον σύγγραμμα.] σέξτειλόν ἐστιν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Δισσοὶ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον· περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειόν· . . .
[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπύλη[ου *corr.* *sup. lin.*]πον οὐκ εὐρέθη.
13. 268 <Scholia in Aristotelis Metaphysicorum libros xii et xiii>

tit.: Σχόλια εἰς τὸ μὲν τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μετὰ
τὰ φυσικὰ.
inc.: Ἐν τῷ λάμβδα τῆς προδευμένης πραγμα-
τείας . . .
inc.: Ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτῳ βυβλίῳ ζητήσας εἰ δύνα-
τον εἶναι . . .
exp.: ἄλλα τὰ συγκείμενα ἀνάγκη κεῖσθαι πού
καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νοῦν νοήσῃ τὰ ἐν-

14. 342

<Euclidis Data>

tit.: Εὐκλείδου δεδομένα.

Preceding item 1 is a table of contents in Latin.
Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the
text. The scribe has left gaps in the text of item 12 to in-
dicate where lacunae occur. The description for items 13 and
14 is taken from H. O. Coxe, "Codices Mss. Collegii Mertonen-
sis" in *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Oxford Colleges*,
2 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1852; reprint ed., East
Ardsley: EP Publishing Limited, 1972), p. 121.

S

Oxonienensis Bodleianus Savilianus gr. 1

iii, 327 ff. (numbered to 321), 36 x 23 cm., chartaceous,
ff. 1-199, 36 lines; ff. 200-274, 39-44 lines; ff. 276-318,
36 lines
16th century

1. 1r-29r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας· ὅ
δεῦτ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς
2. 29r-37r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῦς γραμματικῆς διεφορευθεῖσιν ἡμῶν
ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν
. . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
3. 37r-45v Πρὸς γεω[ω corr. sup. lin.]μετρίας
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῦς γεωμέ-
τρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους

11. 179v-195v
Ζέϊτον εἰσελρικὸν τῶν εἰς βέκκα ὑποψηφίτων, τὸ
βέκατον: τὰς εὐεστὶν ἐν τῷ βέκατῳ:
Inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομίζομενας ὡς τὸν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίαις, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τῇν σὺντασσαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀπερίττοιτον.
Ζέϊτον εἰσελρικὸν ὑποψηφίτων τὸ βέκατον, τέλος
τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικῶν Ζέϊτον τῶν πρὸς ἀντιρροῶν
βέκα ὑποψηφίτων:
Δωρικῆς βλαχέκτου· ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους·
ζητήται δὲ ἐλ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σὺνταγμα ἀεζέτερον
ἐστὶν: περὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν
Inc.: Διδοὺ ἀγαθὰ λέγονται ἐν τῇ 'Εαῖδελ ὡς
τῶν φράσεων οὐκ ἔστιν . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν "Ηφαιστον.
περὶ βελῆας, ἐπὶ τὸν 'Εμεδόν. . .
[In marg.:] Ζητεῖται δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν οὐκ
εὐρέτην. ἔλαβε τέρμα ἰσοερεθῶς βενετῶν λόγα-
μενον
Inc.: Δεδο[[γ]]μενα τῷ μεγέθει λέγεται χωρὶς τε
καὶ γομῆται καὶ γυναικῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . βόθεν ἀπα ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς τῶν ἀδ ἐγ:
12. 195v-199v
Αὐτοῦτον περὶ κρυπτικῆς σφαλας
Inc.: Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέμενος ἀντιμετρία, ἀλλ' ἐν
τῷ χροῶν τῶν ἀντιμετρίᾳ μετρίᾳ βλεψέμεται.
exp.: . . . μετρίως ἀπα ἐστὶν ἐκτερεῶς τῶν
ἀβγ γὰρ κρυπτικῶν.
13. 200r-222r
Εὐκλειδίου βέκαμενα:
Inc.: Δεδο[[γ]]μενα τῷ μεγέθει λέγεται χωρὶς τε
καὶ γομῆται καὶ γυναικῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . βόθεν ἀπα ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς τῶν ἀδ ἐγ:
14. 224r-227v
Αὐτοῦτον περὶ κρυπτικῆς σφαλας
Inc.: Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέμενος ἀντιμετρία, ἀλλ' ἐν
τῷ χροῶν τῶν ἀντιμετρίᾳ μετρίᾳ βλεψέμεται.
exp.: . . . μετρίως ἀπα ἐστὶν ἐκτερεῶς τῶν
ἀβγ γὰρ κρυπτικῶν.
15. 228r-240r
Εὐκλειδίου σφαλας
Inc.: 'Εμεδὴν ἀντιμετρία τὴν ἀντιμετρία ἐκ τε τοῦ
ἀντιμετρίᾳ τῶν . . .
exp.: . . . ἡμερ ἡ γομῆ τὸ φανερὸν, ἡ τυχὸν
τῆς τυχὸν τῶν. τέλος
16. 240r-249r
Βεδοῦτον περὶ σκεπτικῶν καὶ ὑποψηφίτων
Inc.: Ὑποβέβαι χροῦται ὁ βεδοῦτος ἀντιμετρία
κρυπτικῶν τῶν ἡλίων τῇν ἐνδύκτον τῷ κρότῳ
κρυπτικῶν . . .
exp.: . . . ὅτι ἡ ἀντιμετρία τῇν ἀντιμετρία
ἡμερ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀντιμετρία τῇν ἀντιμετρία
17. 249v-258v
Βεδοῦτον περὶ ὑποψηφίτων καὶ σκεπτικῶν
σφαλας
Inc.: Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιμετρία τὴν ἀντιμετρία ἐκ τε τοῦ
ἀντιμετρίᾳ τῶν . . .
exp.: . . . ἡμερ ἡ γομῆ τὸ φανερὸν, ἡ τυχὸν
τῆς τυχὸν τῶν. τέλος
ἐστὶν ἀντιμετρία καὶ ἀντιμετρία οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀντιμετρία

18. 258v-262r Περὶ οἰκήσεων.
inc.: Τοῦς ὑπὸ τὸν βόρειον πόλον οἰκοῦσι, . . .
exp.: . . . φανερὸν ὅτι αἱ λοιπαὶ ἡμέραι πρὸς
τὰς νύκτας πάντα λόγον ἔξουσιν. τέλος.
19. 264r-269v Αὐτολύκου περὶ ἐπιτολῶν καὶ δύσεων, πρῶτον
inc.: Τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστρων αἱ ἐπιτολαὶ τε καὶ
αἱ δύσεις, . . .
exp.: . . . τὸ δεύτερον ἄστρον καὶ δύσεται καὶ
ἀνατελεῖ.
20. 269v-274r Αὐτολύκου περὶ ἐπιτολῶν καὶ δύσεων δεύτερον.
inc.: Τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ ἐν δωδεκατημόριον, ἐν ᾧ
ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ ἥλιος τὴν μγλ περιφέρειαν δια-
πορεύεται καὶ ἐστὶ μεύζων δύο ζωδίων.
21. 276r-318v Logistica Barlaam
inc.: Πολλῶν ὄντων, οἷς ἀστρονόμοι χρῶνται ὡς
ἤδη ἀποδεδειγμένοις πρὸς κατάληψιν . . .
exp.: . . . τοὺς δὲ ἄρεος πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ διὰ
παντὸς ἐπισφαλεῖς.
Βαρλαάμ μοναχοῦ ἀνασκευὴ εἰς τὰ προστεθέντα
τρεῖς κεφαλαῖα ταῖς τελευταῖαις ἐπιγραφαῖς.
extabant enim ἐπιγραφαί, sed ipsa κεφαλαῖα
temporis injuria perierant.
319r *notae continuant*
finitur enim tractatus ille his verbis λέγομεν
τοῖνυν. ἔλαβε τέρμα ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου εφ' ᾧ
ἐλαφηβολίωνος πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα.

According to the description found in Falconer Madan, H. H. E. Craster, N. Denholm-Young, R. W. Hunt, and P. D. Record, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* . . . vol. 2, part 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 1094-95, this manuscript was copied by James Dalrymple of Ayr.

Folios i and 321 are from a 13th-century Latin manuscript on vellum and contain Jeremiah 47.1-52.3. On the recto side of f. ii is a table of contents in Latin. The verso side of folio ii and folios iii, 199a, 222v, 223, 262v, 263, 274v, 275, 319v, and 320-21 are blank.

Following folio 195, a half page has been inserted that is written partly in Greek, partly in Latin on the recto side only, beginning with: μέγεθος μέγεθος, δοθέντι, μεῦζόν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν λόγῳ, . . .

Following folio 227 are inserted three folios. The first, 227a, is a half page written of the recto side only,

beginning with: Scholium post ιδ, ante εκ περισσου, pag. 85 of the copy. . . .

On folio 227b is found: Euclidis Phænomena. Quando quidem tetra inerrantia [[videntur]] [conspiciunt semper *sup. lin.*] ex eodem loco [[semper]] oriri, . . . Horizon igitur est circulus. Madan *et al.* conjecture that this is a translation by David Gregory.

On folio 227c is found: Propositiones. Prop. 1. Theorema. Terra in medio mundi sita est, . . . circulus KSA sit circulo AEBO vertus. [iisdem positis].

Between ff. 251 and 252 is a folio containing diagrams.

Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. Item 21 is written in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript.

Ta

Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 158

i, 394 ff., ca. 29 x 22 cm., ff. 1-58, 23 lines; ff. 59-394, 20 lines
16th century

1. 1r-39v Σύξτου έμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησιν, . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἂν δεῖ λέγειν:
Σύξτου έμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς
2. 39v-51v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ γραμματικῆς διέξω<δευθ>εῖσι<ν> ἡμῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικούς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
Σύξτου έμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
3. 51v-67v Πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
* * *
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῖς γεωμέτραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξ[του *add. sup. lin.*] έμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
4. 68r-75r Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .

- exp.*: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικοῦς:
5. 75v-95r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκει[ν]-
ται ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους· ἦτοι μαθη-
ματικοῦς:
6. 95v-108v Πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς, καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
7. 109r-205r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας, περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
χαρακτὴρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Τέλος τοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου:
8. 205v-309v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν, τὸ δεύτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν,
χωρησόμεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον:
9. 310r-394v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὁμοιὸς ἐστὶ τούτῳ:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον·
τέλος:

On the preliminary page appears: *Sixti Empirici Mathematica*; and in a later hand: *Sexti Empirici Mathematica*. At folio 59r there is a change of hand. Items 8 and 9 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text.

E

Escorialensis gr. 40 (R. III. 6)

i, 291 ff., 20 x 15 cm., chartaceous, 13 lines
16th century

1. 1r-132r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς [πρὸς *in marg.*] μαθη-
μαθητικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας,
ἃ δεῦ λέγειν:
Σέξτου τοῦ ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ τῆς γραμματικῆς
2. 132v-172v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῦσιν ἡμῶν
ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν,
. . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
3. 173r-216r Πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
4. 216v-229v Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
5. 230r-266r Πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους ἥτοι μαθη-
ματικούς:
6. 266v-290v Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:

There is a preliminary page that briefly describes the contents to the manuscript. There are few real corrections, but slashes have been drawn through many incorrect words and letters. Two consecutive folios have been numbered as 61; the folio numbers that are given in this description are as they appear in the manuscript. Folio 291 is blank.

Monacensis gr. 159

ii, 250 ff., ca. 29 x 22 cm., bombycinus, ff. 1-94, 30-34 lines; ff. 97-144, 34-38 lines; ff. 145-152, 21-22 lines; ff. 153-156, 44-45 lines; ff. 157-186, 32 lines; ff. 187-193, 34-35 lines; ff. 195-202, 40-45 lines; ff. 203-220, 30-32 lines; ff. 221-242, 45 lines; ff. 243-250, 35 lines
14th century

1. 1r-13r <Diogenes Laertius 1> Προοῖμιον.
inc.: <T>δ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοι φασιν
ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. . . .
exp.: . . . εἰς τὴν ὕσται[ε *sup. lin.*]ραΐην
ἐπὶ τὰς Φερεκύδew ταφάς::
2. 13r-28r <Diogenes Laertius 2> ['Αναξίμανδρος *in marg.*]
inc.: <...> αμανδρος Πραξιάδου, Μιλήσιος· οὗτος
ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ ἄπειρον. . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅποσοι γεγόνα-
σιν ἐλλόγιμοι: τέλος, τέλος, τέλος
3. 28v-34v <Diogenes Laertius 10> ['Ἐπίκουρος *in marg.*]
inc.: Νεοκλέους καὶ Χαιρεκράτου· Ἀθηναῖος τῶν
δῆμων· Γαργήτιος· . . .
exp.: . . . ὅταν μὴθὲν μὴ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀντι-
κόπτῃ·
4. 38r-49v <Diogenes Laertius 3> [Plato *in marg.*]
inc.: Πλάτων Ἀριστωνος καὶ Περικτιδόνος· ἡ
Ποτῶνης· Ἀθηναῖος·
exp.: . . . καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής:
5. 49v-56r <Diogenes Laertius 4> [Speusippus *in marg.*]
inc.: Τὰ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνος, τοσαῦτα ἦν εἰς τὸ
δυνατὸν ἡμῶν συναγαγεῖν . . .
exp.: . . . [τοὺς *m. sec. in marg.*] ἀπὸ Πλάτω-
νος περιπατητικοὺς ὧν ἤρξεν Ἀριστοτέλης:
6. 56r-62r <Diogenes Laertius 5> [Lib. V Aristoteles *in marg.*]
inc.: <'Α>ριστοτέλης, Νικομάχου καὶ Φαιστιάδος,
Σταγειρίτης· . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ τοῦ προτέρου γένους· περὶ τοῦ
ἰδίου·
7. 66r-93v [Hieroclis in Pythagoræ aurea carmina *in marg. sup., linea amputata ex parte*]
inc.: <Φ>ιλοσοφία ἐστὶ, ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κάθαρ-
σις· . . .
exp.: . . . τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελείας, ὅψε γοῦν
ποτε κτήσασθαι: τέλος

8. 93v (last
22 lines)-
94v *legi non potest*
9. 97r-114r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ τῶν Πτολεμαίου
μαθηματικῶν:
'Απόδειξις τῆς, τοῦ Διδος ἐκ κεντρότητος:
inc.: <Δ>εδειγμένων δὲ τῶν, περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως
ἄστερα περιοδικῶν κινήσεων . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν φαινομένην αὐτοῦ πάροδον,
καταντήσομεν:
10. 114v-128v Lib. XII
Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς προηγῆσεις προλαμβανομένων:
inc.: Οὕτων ἀποδεδειγμένων, ἀκόλουθον ἂν, εἴη
* * *
exp.: . . . καὶ ἔστι τὸ κανόνιον, τοιοῦτον:
[*tabula*]
Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου, μαθηματικῶν, δωδέκατον:
11. 129r-144v Liber XIII
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν Πτο-
λεμαίου μαθηματικῶν:
Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς κατὰ πλάτος παρόδους τῶν πέντε
πλανωμένων ὑποθέσεων:
inc.: <'Α>πολειπομένων δ' εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν
πέντε πλανωμένων σύνταξιν . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ γε τῶν τηλικούτων περιφερείων,
ἐὰν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν . . . [*in marg. m. sec. page 321*
edit. Basil 1538]
12. 145r-152v [*in marg. m. sec. Ptolemi magna Syntax. lib. 1.*
Pag. 4. lin. 17. ed. Basil 1538]
inc.: *legi non potest*
exp.: . . . ὁ κύκλος τξ, τοιούτων ἐστὶν ολβγ.
13. 153r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον:
inc.: Ὡ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλεόν
οὐδέν . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρότιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης
κατέγνως:
14. 153r-172r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῦ λέγειν:
15. 172r-178v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: <Τ>οῦς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραις καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοῖς ἀποριῶν ἀπτόμεθα:

16. 178v-184v Πρὸς γεωμέτρως:
inc.: 'Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
 * * *
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι [v ante corr.]
 τοῖς γεωμέτραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ
 γραμμῆς:
17. 184v-186r Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: 'Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
 συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς ἀντί-
 ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
18. 186r-189v [Περὶ μουσικῆς *m. sec.*]
inc.: 'Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
 τρόπον, ἐπιστήμη τῆς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις [τοιούτοις ante corr.]
 τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
19. 190r-193v Πρὸς χαλδαίους [πρὸς ἀστρολόγους *m. sec.*]
inc.: *legi non potest*
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοῖς μουσικοῖς ζήτησιν
 ἀποδώσομεν:
20. 195r-221r <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοῖς λογικοῖς τῶν δύο
 τὸ πρῶτον>
inc.: ἐστὶ τ' ἀληθές, πρὸ παντὸς δεῦ τὰς ἀρχὰς
 * * *
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
21. 221r-242v <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν: [τὸ δεῦτερον: *m.*
sec.]
inc.: "Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ
 τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοῖς φυσικοῖς
 ζήτησιν χωρήσωμεν:
22. 242v-250v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῆς πασχούσης ὕλης λόγος:

This manuscript was apparently written in a scriptorium; there are several different hands with a similar style. The designation "*m. sec.*" throughout this description indicates a later hand, of which there seem to be more than one, and effort has not been made to distinguish them. For items 14-22, which contain works of Sextus Empiricus, a later hand has enumerated the books according to their order in the *Adversus mathematicos*, and on f. 195 reference is made to the Fabricius edition.

Item 1 contains Diogenes Laertius's lives of Thales, Solon, Chilon, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, Periander, Anacharsis, Myson, Epimenides, Pherecides. Item 2 contains Diogenes Laertius's lives of Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Socrates, Xenophon, Aeschines, Aristippus, Theodorus, Phaedon, Euclid, Stilpo, Crito, Simon, Glaucon, Simmias, Cebes, Menedemus. Item 3 ends in section 61 of Diogenes Laertius 10. Item 5 contains Diogenes Laertius's lives of Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor, Arcesilaus, Bion. At the bottom of f. 55v a later hand has written: *Desit finis vitae Bionis: Lacydes: Carneades: et Clytomachus*. Item 6 contains Diogenes Laertius's lives of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Strato, ending in section 60 of Diogenes Laertius 5.

The incipit of item 20 is in section 24 of Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7. Item 22 ends in section 194 of Sextus Empiricus *M.* 9, and later hands have written: *Deficit reliqui Περὶ αἰτίου καὶ πάσχοντος λύπει.* a cap. 3 libri I adversus physicos (al. lib. IX). Items 9-11, 21, and 22 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text.

There is an unnumbered folio between 190 and 191. Folios 35-37, 62v-65v, 95r-96v, and 194 are blank.

P

Parisinus gr. 1964

i, 280 ff., 27 x 20 cm., chartaceous, 2 columns, 29-37 lines
15th century

1. 1r-1v *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant*
inc.: Τὰ αἰτία κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττά
εἰσι: συνεκτικά: συναΐτια: ἡ συνεργά:
exp.: . . . τοπικὴ μετάβασις ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολὴ
ἡ αὐξήσις ἡ μείωσις ἡ γένεσις ἡ φθορά
2. 1v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνίων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
2r-18v Πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον.
inc.: Τοὺς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα· ἡ εὐρεσιν ἐπα-
κολουθεῖν εἰκόδες, ἡ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον·
3. 18v-40v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνίων
ὑποτυπώσεων:>
Πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύτερον
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-
τικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .

- exp.*: . . . περιγράφομεν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Τέλος πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ δεύτερον:
4. 40v-41r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνίων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
41r-66v Πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον:
inc.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης
φιλοσοφίας . . .
exp.: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
Πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον:
5. 66v *inc.*: ὁ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλεον
οὐδέν . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρώτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης
κατέγνωσ:
6. 66v-92v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν, . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
7. 92v-101r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέ-
γειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
8. 101r-109v Πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῖς γεωμέ-
τριας ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Τέλος Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
9. 109v-112r Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχεῖσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρρη-
σιν ποιησόμεθα:
10. 112r-119v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς, πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:

11. 119v-124v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
12. 124v-160v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
χαρακτῆρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Τέλος τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν:
13. 160v-198r <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον:>
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ
τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν,
χωρήσομεν:
14. 198r-230r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ <ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:>
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὁμοιός ἐστι τούτῳ:
15. 230r-257r <Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:>
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
Τέλος ὑπομνημάτων ἑννάτου:
16. 257r-276v <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ δέκατον:>
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τῶν σύμψασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Τέλος ὑπομνημάτων δεκάτου: Σέξτου σκεπτικοῦ τῶν
πρὸς ἀντιρρήσιν α̅ β̅ γ̅ δ̅ ε̅ ζ̅ η̅ θ̅ ι̅:
Εὐτύχει ἐν πολλοῖς χρόνοις σοφῆ δέσποτα βίβλου:
17. 277r-279v Ἰωνικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν τέλους:
inc.: Δισσοὶ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῷ [τῇ *sup.*
lin.] Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . ποτὶ τὰς ἀδονὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ
ποιήματα ποιέοντι:

On the preliminary page is a brief description in Latin of the contents of the manuscript. The explicit to item 1 follows the table of contents of item 2. At the top of f. 1r is

an indication of a previous owner. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each contain a list of chapter headings preceding the text. Folio 280r-v contains miscellaneous notes.

O

Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 21

i, 393 ff., 33 x 21 cm., chartaceous, 30 lines

2 February 1541 by Nikolaos Murmuris of Nauplion

- | | |
|------------|---|
| i | Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τὰ σωζόμενα
I: Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων
II: Πρὸς μαθηματικούς |
| 1. 1r-1v | <i>tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant inc.:</i> Τὰ αἴτια κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττά εἰσι: συνεκτικὰ· συναίτια· ἢ συνεργά·
<i>exp.:</i> . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολὴ ἡ αὐξησις ἡ μείωσις ἡ γένεσις ἡ φθορά |
| 2. 1v | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |
| 2r-28r | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
<i>inc.:</i> Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἢ εὖρεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκός, ἢ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως, . . .
<i>exp.:</i> . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον: |
| 3. 28v-59v | <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:>
Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύτερον:
<i>inc.:</i> Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογματικούς μετήλθομεν, . . .
<i>exp.:</i> . . . περιγράφομεν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Τέλος πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ δεύτερον: |
| 4. 59v-60r | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |
| 60r-95r | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον:
<i>inc.:</i> Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης φιλοσοφίας . . .
<i>exp.:</i> . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλαῖς πρὸς τὸ ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον: |
| 5. 95r-95v | <i>inc.:</i> τὸ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα, πεφασμένον ὡς πλεόν οὐδέν . . . |

- exp.*: . . . τὰ πρῶτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης κατέγνωσ:
6. 95v-132r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησην, . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
7. 132r-143v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξωδευθεῖσιν ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
8. 143v-156v Πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οὐ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
 * * *
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέτρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
 Τέλος Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
9. 156v-160r Πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχεῖσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρρησην ποιησόμεθα:
10. 160r-170v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς, πρόκειται ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν:
11. 170v-178r Σέξτου [[μουσικοῦ]] ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
12. 178r-229v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον· περὶ φιλοσοφίας περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
 Τέλος τῶν κατὰ Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν
13. 229v-282v <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύτερον:>
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορητικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ

τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν,
 χωρήσομεν:

14. 283r-327r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ: <ὕπομνημάτων τὸ ὀγδοόν:>
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
 ὅμοιός ἐστι τοῦτῃ:
15. 327r-362v <Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἔννατον:>
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
 προηπορημένους ἡμῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
 Τέλος ὑπομνημάτων ἐννάτου
16. 362v-388r <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
 δέκατον:> τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
 ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Τέλος ὑπομνημάτων Σέξτου σκεπτικοῦ τῶν πρὸς
 ἀντίρρησιν, α β γ δ ε ς ζ η θ ι: εὐτύχει ἐν
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις σοφῆ δέσποτα βίβλου:
17. 388v-391v Ἰωνικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τέλους:
inc.: Δις τοῖς λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . ποτὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ
 ποιήματα ποιέοντι:
- 392r Ἡ μὲν χεῖρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ ἡ δὲ γραμμὴ
 τυξεται εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους:
 Νικόλαος μούρμουρις ἐκ Ναυπλίου, μετὰ τὴν τῆς
 αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἀλῶσιν, πενίᾳ συζῶν, μισθῷ καὶ
 τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέγραψεν: ἐτελεῶσα> τὸ
 παρὸν βιβλίον αἴμα ἡμέρα πέμπτη ὥρα ι τῆς
 ἡμέρας φεβρουαρίου β:

Nikolaos Murmuris of Nauplion was in the employ of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), a Spanish humanist and ambassador of Karl V in Venice, from 1541-43. This scribe also went at times under the name of Nicolas de Morée. (Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* [Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1909; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966], pp. 351, 353.)

Some corrections were made in the text of the manuscript by the first hand, others by a second hand. On the preliminary page are found the words: ex codicibus Joannis

Angeli Ducis ab Altaemps ex Graeco manuscripto. The explicit of item 1 follows the table of contents of item 2. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. Folios 392v-393v are blank.

P4

Parisinus gr. 1966

i, 248 ff., 32 x 22 cm., chartaceous; ff. 1-84, 30 lines;
ff. 85-248, 29 lines
16th century

1. 1r-2r *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant inc.*: Τὰ αἷτια κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς, τριττὰ εἰσι: συνεκτικὰ· συναίτια· ἢ συνεργὰ *exp.*: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις: ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολὴ· ἡ αὔξησις· ἡ μείωσις ἢ γένεσις: ἡ φθορά.
2. 1v-2r Τάδε ἔνεστιν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:
2v-32r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον: *inc.*: Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα· ἢ εὑρεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκός, ἢ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . . *exp.*: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Εἰσι δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
3. 32r-v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:>
32v-66v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ [[πρῶτον?]] δεύτερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογματικούς μετήλθομεν, . . . *exp.*: . . . περιγράφομεν· καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Τέλος πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τὸ δεύτερον:
4. 67r-v <Τ>άδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:
67v-105v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον: *inc.*: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης φιλοσοφίας, . . . *exp.*: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῇ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
5. 106r-147r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς: *inc.*: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησην, . . . *exp.*: . . . σκεψόμεθα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:

6. 147r-160r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
 ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
 λέγειν· . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους, καὶ ἀριθ-
 μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
7. 160r-173r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
 . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
 τρους ἀφαιρεῖν τὴν καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
8. 173r-177r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
 συνεχέσι σώμασι . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
 ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
9. 177r-188r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας, ἥ μαθηματικῆς, πρόκει-
 ται ζητῆσαι· . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
 ἀποδώσωμεν:
10. 188r-195v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
 τρόπον, ἐπιστήμη τις, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
 διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
11. 195v-248r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικούς, τῶν δύο
 τὸ πρῶτον: περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος
 χαρακτήρ, . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 ἑποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:

There is some evidence of collation in this manuscript or in an exemplar, as some variant readings are found in the margin. Parisinus gr. 1967 (which contains the second book against the logicians from section 83 to the end, the two books against the physicists, the book against the ethicists, and the *dialexeis*) was copied by the same scribe and was intended to be a companion volume to this manuscript.

The preliminary folio contains a brief description of the contents of the manuscript. The explicit of item 1 follows the table of contents of item 2. Items 2-4 each contain a list of chapter headings preceding the text. On ff. 177r and 248r are notes indicating a previous owner of the manuscript: ex

libris Johannis Pini e. olosimi Rinorum episcopi. Jean de Pins was bishop of Rieux from 1523-1537. Folio 248v is blank.

R

Vaticanus Rossianus gr. 979 (*olim* XI.129)

251 ff., 33.4 x 22.7 cm., chartaceous, 30 lines

15th century

1. 1r-23r <Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:>
inc.: Τοὺς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἡ εὐρεσιν, ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκόσ· ἡ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως, . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
 Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
2. 23r-v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:>
 23v-50v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεῦτερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογματικὸς μετέλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
 Στέλος πυρρωνίων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ δεῦτερον:
3. 50v-51r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:
 51r-81v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον:
inc.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης φιλοσοφίας . . .
exp.: . . . ὡς ἄρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
 Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον:
4. 81v *inc.*: Ὡ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλέον οὐδέν . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρῶτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης κατέγνως:
5. 81v-112r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
6. 112r-121v <Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:>
inc.: <Τ>οὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξωδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν, . . .

- exp.*: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικούς ἀποριῶν ἀπιδέσθαι:
7. 121v-131v <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:>
inc.: <Ἐπεὶ> οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέτρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
8. 131v-134r <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:>
inc.: <Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι σώμασιν . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρρησην ποιησόμεθα:
9. 134r-142v <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:>
inc.: <Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς, πρόσκειται ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν:
10. 142v-147v Πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς.
inc.: <Ἡ> μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τῆς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
11. 147v-189v [Sextus Empiricus adversus logicos. *in marg. m. sec.*]
inc.: <Ὁ> μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος χαρακτηρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
12. 189v-235r [Sexti Empirici lib. II adv. logicos *in marg. m. sec.*]
inc.: <Ὁ>σα μὲν [[μὲν]] ρηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς ζητήσιν, χωρήσομεν:
13. 235r-251r [Sexti Empirici adv. Physicos l. I *in marg. m. sec.*]
inc.: <Τ>ὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὅτι κοινῶς ἀπορὸν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ ποιούντος αἰτίου καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς πασχούσης ὕλης λόγος:

There are some marginalia--mostly adding words and groups of words that are lacking. Items 2 and 3 each contain a list of chapter headings preceding the text. The titles

supplied in the margin for items 11-13 are by a much later hand. Item 13 ends at Sextus Empiricus *M.* 9.194.

U

Vaticanus gr. 217

iv, 355 ff., 33 x 22 cm., chartaceous, 26-29 lines
16th century

1. 1r-26v [U³:] Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον ἄδηλον εἰ σέξιτιόν ἐστι
inc.: [U:] Τοῦς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἡ εὐρεσιν
[[,]] ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκός: ἡ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως,
* * *
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
2. 26v <Τᾶδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων
ὑποτυπώσεων:>
27r-56v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύ-
τερον.
inc.: 'Επει δὲ [ἐπὶ *add. sup. lin.* U³] τὴν
ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοῦς δογματικοὺς μετήλθομεν;
* * *
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν [[,]] καὶ τὸ δεύτερον
τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
[U³:] Τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
3. 56v-57r [U:] Τᾶδε ἔνεστι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων
ὑποτυπώσεων.
57r-90r [U³:] Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων βιβλίον
τρίτον.
inc.: [U:] Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς
λεγόμενης φιλοσοφίας; . . .
exp.: . . . ὥς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῇ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον.
[U³:] Τέλος τοῦ τρίτου τῶν Σέξτου πυρρωνείων
ὑποτυπώσεων:
4. 90r-124v [U:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς.
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν, . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοῦς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
5. 124v-135r [U³:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ἀντίρρησις πρὸς ῥή-
τορας. περὶ ῥητορικῆς.

- inc.*: [U:] Τοῖς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξωδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν; . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθμητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' αὐτῶν
6. 135v-146r [U³:] Σέξτου ἀντιρρητικὸν πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
inc.: [U:] Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῖς γεωμέτραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς.
7. 146r-149v [U:³] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς·
inc.: [U:] Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσσι σώμασι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρρησιν ποιησόμεθα.
8. 149v-158v [U³:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους·
inc.: [U:] Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται ζητῆσαι, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν.
9. 158v-164v [U:] Πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς:
[U³:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μουσικούς.
inc.: [U:] Μουσικὴ λέγεται διχῶς: καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον, ἐπιστήμη τῆς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν.
[U³:] Τέλος τῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα.
10. 164v-208v [U³:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ἀντιρρητικῶν πρὸς φιλοσόφους, ἥτοι πρὸς τὸ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ πρῶτον
inc.: [U:] Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως χαρακτήρ, . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα [[,]] καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ ἀποτομήν, τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεύει:
[U³:] Τέλος τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἥτοι τῶν πρὸς τὸ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀντιρρητικῶν.
11. 208v-254r [U³:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς φιλοσόφους· ἥτοι τῶν πρὸς τὸ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀντιρρητικῶν δύο, τὸ δεύτερον.
inc.: [U:] Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζητήσιν χωρήσομεν:
Τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου πρὸς λογικοὺς περὶ φιλοσοφίας.

12. 254r-292v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος, . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
 ὁμοιὸς ἐστὶ [[v]] τούτῳ:
 Σέξτου εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον. [[τέλος.]]
13. 292v-324v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἔννατον
inc.: Τοῦς περὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῶν περάτων,
 προσηπορημένους ἡμῶν [[,]] . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοῦς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους.
 Τέλος τοῦ ἔννατου
14. 325r-348v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
 δέκ[α *sup. lin.*]τον. τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν νομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
 ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Τέλος τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου [[τῶν]] πρὸς
 ἀντιρρήσιν δέκα ὑπομνημάτων.
15. 348v-354v Τὸ ἐφεξῆς σύγγραμμα ὁρωρικῆς ὄν διαλέκτου,
 ζητεῖται εἰ σέξτειλόν ἐστιν.
inc.: Δισσοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
 τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκεύας δέ, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕφαι-
 στον. περὶ δευλίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπειόν. . . .
 [*in marg.*:] Τὸ ἐπὶ λολιπον οὐκ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ἀντι-
 γράφῳ.

Some marginalia appear to be by a second hand, identified by Devarius as "librarius." There are many notes, corrections, emendations, and conjectures on the text by Matthaeus Devarius (indicated as U³; where there might be confusion, work of the original scribe is indicated by U). In the manuscript, Devarius has identified his own emendations and remarks by the use of the siglum $\frac{D}{M}$. Matthaeus Devarius was a student and secretary of Iannis Laskaris, then the librarian under Cardinal Ridolfi. From 1541 on, Devarius was an assistant in the Vatican Library (Vogel and Gardthausen, p. 294).

The third preliminary page contains a table of contents, written in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript. Items 2, 3, and 11-14 each contain a list of chapter headings (by the original scribe) preceding the text. The scribe has left gaps in item 15 to indicate where lacunae occur. Folio 355 is blank.

Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.24

352 ff., 29 x 19 cm., membranaceous, 30 lines
15th century

1. 1-99 *Sexti Empirici Pyrrhoniani Compendii, sive Scepticarum institutionum Libros III. cum tabulis definitionum in principio, Caputum elencho, et Epigrammate in Pyrrhonem in fine.*
2. 101r-133r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας,
ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Περὶ γραμματικῆς τέλος:
3. 133r-143r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, περὶ ῥητορικῆς·
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν, ἀπτώμεθα:
Περὶ ἐμπειρικῆς τέλος:
4. 143r-153v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτραι·
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Τέλος πρὸς γεωμέτραι·
5. 154r-157r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς·
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν [*sic?*] ποιησώμεθα:
Τέλος, πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
6. 157r-165r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀστρολόγους·
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Τέλος πρὸς ἀστρολόγους ἦτοι μαθηματικούς·
7. 165r-170v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς·
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα

διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Τέλος πρὸς μουσικοῦς·

8. 171r-212v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου τέλος·
9. 212v-257v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον·
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν
χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἔβδομον·
10. 257v-294r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον·
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τούτῳ:
Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
11. 294r-324r Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα, τὸ ἕννατον
τέλος·
12. 324r-346r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων, τὸ
δέκατον: τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον· τέλος
τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν
δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:
13. 346v-352r Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους:
ζητεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξειται
ἐστὶν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ·
inc.: Διςσοὶ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον·
περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπειόν. . . .
[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον οὐκ
εὐρέθη:

The description for item 1 is taken from: A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, varia continens opera graecorum patrum* . . . , 3 vols. (Florence: typis Regiis, 1764-1770), 3:280. Items 9-12 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 13 the scribe has left gaps in the text where lacunae apparently occur. Folios 100 and 352v are blank.

P2

Parisinus gr. 1963

i, 327 ff., 33 x 22 cm., chartaceous, 32 lines
1534 by Nikolaos Sophianos

- | | |
|------------|--|
| ir | Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων. |
| 1. 1r-v | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |
| 2r-23r | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
<i>inc.</i> : <Τ>οὺς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἢ εὕρεσιν ἐπα-
κολουθεῖν εἰκδς ἢ ἀρνησιν εὕρεσεως, . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα: |
| 2. 23v | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |
| 24r-49v | Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ δεύτερον: εἰ δύναται τι ζητεῖν ὁ σκεπτικδς περὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρὰ τοὺς δογμα-
τικοὺς:
<i>inc.</i> : <Ε>πεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
δογματικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . περιγράφομεν, τὸ δεύτερον τῶν ὑπο-
τυπώσεων σύνταγμα: |
| 3. 49v-50r | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Σέξτου πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |
| 50v-78v | Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ τρίτον:
<i>inc.</i> : Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης
φιλοσοφίας . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον: |
| 4. 78v | <i>inc.</i> : ὡ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα, πεφασμένον ὡς πλέον
οὐδέν· . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . τὰ πρῶτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης
κατέγνωσ: |
| 5. 79r-v | <i>tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant</i>
<i>inc.</i> : Τὰ αἴτια κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς: συνεκτικὰ
συναίτια: ἢ συνεργά: |

- exp.*: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις, ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολή· ἡ αὐξησις· ἡ μείωσις· ἡ γένεσις· ἡ φθορά:
6. 80r-111r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρῃσιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας, ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Τέλος τοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
7. 111r-121r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθμητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
8. 121v-132r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοὺς γεωμέτραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
9. 132r-135r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρρῃσιν ποιησώμεθα:
10. 135r-143v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικὴ πρόκειται ζητῆσαι . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν:
11. 144r-149v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Πρὸς μαθηματικούς, τέλος:
12. 150r-192r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς λογικούς, τῶν εἰς δύο, τὸ πρῶτον· περὶ φιλοσοφίας· περὶ κριτικῆς:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασώμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν ἀληθοῦς, διαπορεῖν:
13. 192r-235v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν σκεπτικῶν:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .

- exp.*: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν, χωρήσομεν:
14. 235v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ογδόῃ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ὑπομνημάτων:
236r-271r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον: περὶ ἀρχῶν φυσικῶν:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων, ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τοῦτῳ:
15. 271r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐννάτῃ τῶν Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν:
271v-300v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ σκεπτικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, τῶν εἰς δέκα τῶν σκεπτικῶν, τὸ ἔνατον: περὶ τόπου:
inc.: Τοῦτ' περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων προηπορημένοις ἡμῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοῦτ' τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
16. 300v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ὑπομνημάτων:
301r-322r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ σκεπτικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, τῶν εἰς δέκα, τὸ δέκατον:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ἀπορίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Τέλος τῶν Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, καὶ τῇ θεῇ χάρις:
17. 322v-327v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τέλους: ζητεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειν ἐστὶν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Διςσοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ τὸν Ἡφαιστον· περὶ δειλίας, τὸν Ἑπειόν· . . .
[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι: ἐλλειπὲς οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὡς ὁρᾷτε:
Μὴ γραμμάτων τὸ κάλλος ἐκζητεῖν θέλε, κελτῶν ἄριστε πρέσβυ, καὶ σοφῶν κλέος· ἐμοῦ τε ἡδύς, ἀγαθός τ' εὐεργέτης· βίβλος γὰρ ἦδε, βέβριθον θυμηδαίς, δίκην σχέδους κτηθεῖσα σὺν πολλῇ τάχει, χερσὶν ταλαῖναις καὶ πόνοις βαρουμένας· πρέπει δὲ μισθός, τοῖς πονοῦσι συγγράφειν:
- colophon: Ἐντεῖτῃσι παρὰ Νικολάου Σοφιανοῦ, κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον τοῦ ἀφ' ὧν ἔτους:

This manuscript was copied in Venice in September 1534 for Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur (1508-34) and French ambassador in Venice. Nikolaos Sophianos was an associate of Cardinals Cervini and Ridolfi and was later in the employ of Hurtado de Mendoza (Vogel and Gardthausen, pp. 356-57).

There are some marginalia, mostly corrections, by the first hand. On the preliminary page is a brief description of the contents of the manuscript in a later hand. Items 1-3 and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 17, the scribe has left gaps to indicate where there are lacunae.

Ve

Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. IV/26

ii, 331 ff., 30 x 22 cm., membranaceous, 30 lines
16th century by Caesar Strategos

- | | |
|------------|--|
| iiv | Τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ νεανίᾳ κυρίῳ, Ἰωάννῃ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ Γεωργίου μὲν τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς υἱῷ τῆς δὲ κυ-
πρίων βασιλείσσης Αἰκατερίνης ἀδελφιδῶ. |
| 1. 1r-1v | <i>tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant</i>
<i>inc.</i> : Τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριτὰ
εἰσι: συνεκτικά· συναύτια· ἡ συνεργά·
<i>exp.</i> : . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις: ἡ φυσικὴ μετα-
βολή: ἡ αὔξησις: ἡ μείωσις ἡ γένεσις: ἡ φθορά: |
| 2. 1v | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυ-
πώσεων: |
| 2r-24r | <i>inc.</i> : <Τ>οῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα, ἡ εὐρεσιν ἐπα-
κολουθεῖν εἰκός, ἡ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον: |
| 3. 24r | <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:> |
| 24v-49r | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία, τὸ δεύ-
τερον:
<i>inc.</i> : <Ε>πεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
δογματικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . περιγράφομεν, τὸ δεῦτερον τῶν ὑπο-
τυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Τέλος πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ
δεῦτερον: |
| 4. 49v-50r | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων: |
| 50r-76v | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων, τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον: |

- inc.*: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης φιλοσοφίας . . .
exp.: . . . ὥς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ ἀνύειν τὸ προκειμένον:
 Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τὸ τρίτον:
5. 76v *inc.*: Ὡς Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὥς πλέον οὐδέν· . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρῶτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης κατέγνωσ:
 θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, ἡδὲ Καῦσαρος πόνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ:
6. 77r-109r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς·
inc.: <Τ>ὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησην . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς ῥήτορας, ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς τέλος.
7. 109v-119v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς·
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικούς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέλος·
8. 119v-130v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους·
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοὺς γεωμέτρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους τέλος:
9. 130v-133v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρρησην ποιησώμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς τέλος·
10. 133v-142r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους·
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται ζητῆσαι· . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους, ἥτοι μαθηματικούς·
11. 142r-147v Πρὸς μουσικούς·
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν

- τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
 διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς τέλος:
12. 147v-189v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
 πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμει
 χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασσόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, διαπορεῖν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου τέλος·
13. 189v-235r Τῶν Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον·
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι
 παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζητήσεων,
 χωρήσομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον·
14. 235r-272v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον·
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτὴν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
 ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τοῦτ'·
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον·
15. 272v-303v Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον·
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
 προσηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσπασμένους:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
16. 303v-304r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
 δέκατον: τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
 304r-325v *inc.*: Τὰς μὲν κομιζόμενας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
 ἀπορίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμψασιν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 326r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος
 τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησην
 δέκα ὑπομνημάτων·
17. 326r-331v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους: ζη-
 τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειλόν
 ἐστίν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ·
inc.: Διῶσοι λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
 τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον·
 περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειδόν. . . .

[in marg.:] Σημεύωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπύλοιπον οὐκ εὐρέθη.

Caesar Strategos was summoned to Florence as a scribe by Lorenzo de' Medici (Vogel and Gardthausen, p. 224).

Below the dedication found on the verso before folio 1, a later hand has translated the dedication into Latin. The explicit of item 1 follows the table of contents of item 2. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. The scribe has left gaps in the text of item 12 where lacunae apparently occur.

P6

Parisinus gr. 2128

i, 144 ff., 16.5 x 11 cm., chartaceous, 18-21 lines
17th century

1. 1r-68r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς ῥήτορας ἃ δεῖ
λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς τέλος.
2. 68v-89r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς.
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῶν
ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν
* * *
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικούς ἀποριῶν ἀπτόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέλος
3. 89v-108v Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
* * *
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους τέλος
4. 109r-114v Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησώμεθα:
Τῶν πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς τέλος.
5. 115r-133r Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας, ἥ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι . . .

exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν ἀποδώσομεν
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους ἢ μαθηματι-
κοὺς τέλος.

6. 133v-144r Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς. καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου, ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς τέλος.

On the preliminary page is a brief description of the contents of the manuscript in a later hand. Folios 4v, 118v, and 144v are blank; folio 118r is blank except for the words at the top: οὐδὲν λείπει:

Mo

Monacensis gr. 79

ii,348 ff., 34.5 x 24 cm., chartaceous, 29 lines
16th century

1. 1r-2r *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant*
inc.: Τὰ αἴτια κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττὰ
εἶσι: συνεκτικά· συναίτια: ἢ συνεργά:
exp.: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετάβασις· ἡ φυσικὴ μετα-
βολή· ἡ αὔξησις· ἡ μείωσις: ἡ γένεσις· ἡ φθορά
2. 1v-2r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
2v-26v Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων. τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
inc.: Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί πρᾶγμα· ἢ εὗρεσιν ἐπακο-
λουθεῖν εἰκὸς ἢ ἄρνησιν εὐρέσεως· . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον
Τέλος ἀμὴν τοῦ πρώτου:
3. 27r-55v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων:>
Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων· τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύ-
τερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-
τικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν, τὸ δεύτερον τῶν ὑπο-
τυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
Τέλος πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ
δεύτερον·

11. 155v-161v Πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς τέλος:
12. 161v-204v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτηρίου:
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου τέλος:
13. 204v-250v Τῶν Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζητήσιν
χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον τέλος.
14. 250v-287v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας, μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὃ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ἴσους ἐστὶ τούτῳ:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
15. 287v-318v Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν κερμάτων προη-
πορημένοις ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
τέλος:
16. 318v-319x Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
δέκατον: τάδε ἓν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ·
319x-341x *inc.*: Τὰς μὲν νομιζόμενας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀποφίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος
τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρῃσιν
δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:
17. 341x-346v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους: ζη-
τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειον
ἐστὶν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Διςσοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .

exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡφαίστον·
 περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειόν:
 [in marg.:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον οὐκ
 εὐρέθη.

On the verso preceding the first folio, there is a table of contents in Latin and in Greek. There are some marginalia in the original hand, others in a later hand. The explicit of item 1 follows the table of contents of item 2. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 17 the scribe has left gaps in the text where lacunae occur. Folios 88v, 347-348, and two folios immediately preceding item 1 are blank. At the end is a coat of arms: ex Electorali Bibliotheca Sereniss. Utriusq: Bavariae Ducum.

T

Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (B. I. 3)

v, 355 ff., chartaceous, 30 lines
 16th century

1. 1r-2r *tabulae et notae notiones philosophas adumbrant*
inc.: Τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τριττά
 εἰσι: συνεκτικά· συναίτια· ἡ συνεργά:
exp.: . . . ἡ τοπικὴ μετὰβασις· ἡ φυσικὴ μετα-
 βολή· ἡ αἰθέσις· ἡ μείωσις: ἡ γένεσις· ἡ φθορά
2. 1v-2r Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν ὑπο-
 τυπώσεων:
 2v-27r Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρεῖς τὸ πρῶτον:
inc.: Τοῖς ζητοῦσι τί [corr. ζητοῦσίν τι] πράγ-
 μα, ἡ εὐρεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν εἰκός, ἡ ἀρνησιν
 εὐρέσεως, . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
 ταγμα:
 [[Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα]] πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
 τρεῖς τὸ πρῶτον τέλος ἀμὴν τοῦ πρώτου:
3. 27v-56v <Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν
 ὑποτυπώσεων:>
 Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων· τῶν εἰς τρεῖς τὸ δεύ-
 τερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-
 τικοὺς μετήλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν τὸ δεύτερον τῶν ὑπο-
 τυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
 Τέλος πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρεῖς τὸ
 δεύτερον:

4. 57r-v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνεῶν ὑπο-
τυπώσεις:
57v-89r Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεις τῶν εἰς τρεῖς τὰ τρίτον:
inc.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης
φιλοσοφίας . . .
exp.: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
89v Πυρρωνεῶν ὑποτυπώσεις τὸ τρίτον:
5. 89v *inc.*: ὁ Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα, πεφασμένον, ὡς πλέον
οὐδέν: . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρώτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης
κατέγνωσ: ὁ Πύρρων
6. 90r-124r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς [τοὺς *deest*,
add. in marg. T²] ῥήτορας, ὃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς τέλος
7. 124v-135r Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς[οὺς *ante corr.*]
διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ
ῥητορικῆς λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέλος:
8. 135v-146v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οὐ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τρους ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους τέλος
9. 147r-150r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθη[μα *add. m. sec.*]-
τικὸς ἀντίρρησιν ποιησώμεθα:
Σέξτου, ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς τέλος:
10. 150v-159v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητεῖσαι . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς [[τοὺς μου-
σικοὺς]] ζήτησιν ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους [[ἦτοι μαθη-
ματικούς]]: τέλος

11. 159v-165v Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον, ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐ[μ *add. sup. lin.*] πειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσι-
κοὺς τέλος:
Fine librorum πρὸς μαθηματι[[θη]]κοὺς.
12. 166r-211r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτου πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον, περὶ φιλοσοφίας: [[περὶ κριτηρίου:]]
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
χαρακτῆρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου τέλος:
13. 211r-258r <Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον τὸ δεῦτερον:>
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπο[[ρ]]ρηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγε-
σθαι παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν
χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον τέλος.
14. 258r-294v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς
φιλοσοφίας μέρος, . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὅμοιός ἐστι τοῦτῃ:
15. 295r-326r Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
τέλος:
16. 326v-349v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
δέκατον: τάδε ἐν ἐστίν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῃ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας[[,]] . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος
τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν
δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:
17. 349v-351r Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους: ζη-
τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξειται
ἐστίν: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Διςσοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ

τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑραιστον·
 περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειδόν:
 [*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον οὐκ
 εὐρέθη. ἐξισώθη καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἦν δυνατόν.

Folios i, v, 351v, 352r, and 353 have notes in a later hand; on iir is a note in a later hand indicating that the annotations throughout the manuscript were probably written by Henri Estienne. Folios iiv, iii, iiii, and 354v are blank. Folio 355r-v contains an index of some sort and some notes. Folios 352r-354r contain in large script the letters of the Greek alphabet. At the top of folio lr are the words: Ex libris Henrici Stefani Florentiis Emptus 1555.

In the margins are written by a later hand numbers that correspond to the page numbers of the 1621 edition of the works of Sextus Empiricus, published by Peter and Jacob Chouet (see *infra*, pp. 111-13). Items 1-4 are heavily annotated and corrected. Item 5 has no annotations or corrections. Items 6-17 have many corrections but few annotations.

The explicit of item 1 is found after the table of contents of item 2. Items 2-4 and 13-16 each contain a list of chapter headings preceding the text.

P7

Parisinus Supplementarius gr. 133

ii, 420 ff., 16.5 x 11.5 cm., chartaceous, 25 lines
 17th century

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| 1. | 1r-v | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων |
| | 2r-25r | <Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον:>
<i>inc.</i> : <Τ>οῦς ζητοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ εὐρεσιν ἐπα-
κολουθεῖν εἰκὸς ἢ ἀρνησιν εὐρέσεως . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων
σύνταγμα: |
| 2. | 25v-26r | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων |
| | 26r-56r | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύτερον
<i>inc.</i> : <Ε>πεὶ δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν τὴν πρὸς τοῦς
δογματικοὺς μετήλθομεν . . .
<i>exp.</i> : . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα |
| | 56v | Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων δεύτερον |
| 3. | 56v-57r | Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: |

[illegible]

τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .

exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:

Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς.

11. 193r-247r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτου[ον *m. sec.*] πρὸς τοὺς λογικούς
τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτη-
ρίου:
inc.: 'Ο μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς' διαπεί[ο *corr. sup. lin.*]-
ρεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου:
12. 247r-302v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτου[ον *m. sec.*] σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύ-
τερον:
inc.: 'Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορ[[ρ]]ηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς ζητήσιν,
χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον.
13. 302v-347r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αὐτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὃ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων
ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τούτῳ:
14. 347r-384r <Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:>
inc.: <Τ>οῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν' . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασμένους:
ὑπομνημάτων ἕννατον
15. 384r-411r Τὰ δ' ἕνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: <Τ>ὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
ὑπομνημάτων δέκατον
Σέξτου σκεπτικοῦ τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν $\bar{\alpha} \ \bar{\beta} \ \bar{\gamma} \ \bar{\delta} \ \bar{\epsilon}$
 $\bar{\varsigma} \ \bar{\eta} \ \bar{\theta} \ \bar{\iota}$ εὐτύχει ἐν πολλοῖσι χρόνοις σοφῆ
δέσποτα βύβλου
16. 411r-418r <Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου>
inc.: <Δ>ιανοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι
ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ηφαιστον'
περὶ δειλίας' ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ἐπειδόν:

[*in marg.:*] Σημεύωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπύλοιπον οὐκ εὐρέθη:

The recto side of the second preliminary page contains bibliological notes. On folio 420r there are notes in two later hands about the 1621 edition and the Fabricius 1718 edition of the works of Sextus Empiricus.

Items 1-3 and 12-15 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 16 the scribe has left gaps in the text where lacunae apparently occur. Folios 96-98 are blank. On folio 419r is a chart of scribal abbreviations.

V

Venetus Marcianus gr. 262

i, 408 ff., 21.5 x 14 cm., membranaceous, 21 lines
15th century [end]

1. 1r-55r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
2. 55r-71v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῦς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς λέγειν . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικοὺς ἀποριῶν, ἀπτόμεθα.
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
3. 71v-89v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος . . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοῦς γεωμέτραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
4. 89v-94v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσιν σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρρησιν ποιησώ[ο *sup. lin.*]μεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
5. 94v-108r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται ζητῆσαι . . .

- exp.*: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους, ἥτοι μαθηματικούς:
6. 108r-117r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
7. 117r-185v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: [περὶ κριτηρίου: *in marg.*]
inc.: Ἡ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεως χαρακτηρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου:
8. 185v-258v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεῦτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἔβδομον:
9. 258v-315v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων, ὅμοιός ἐστι τοῦτῃ:
Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
10. 315v-316r Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
316r-365r *inc.*: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀσπασμένους:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
11. 365r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
365v-401r *inc.*: <Τ>ὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:

12. 401r-408r Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους: ζη-
τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειλόν
ἐστι: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Δισσοῦ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ὑπὸ
τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον
περὶ δειλίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειόν . . .
[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον οὐκ
εὐρέθη.

On the verso before folio 1 is a table of contents for the manuscript. Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 12, the scribe has left gaps in the text where there are lacunae.

C

Cizensis gr. fol. 70

438 ff., chartaceous, 22 lines

1556 by Emmanuel Embenes

1. 1r-59r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῦ λέγειν
59v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
2. 59v-76v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν, ἀπώμεθα
77r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
3. 77r-95r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
4. 95r-100r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
100v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
5. 100v-115r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἢ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται

- ζητήσαι. . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζητήσιν ἀποδώσομεν
- 115v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους, ἥτοι μαθη-
 ματικούς:
6. 115v-125r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
7. 125r-196v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: [περὶ κριτηρίου *in marg.*]
inc.: Ἡ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος χαρακτὴρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, περὶ κριτηρίου:
8. 197r-274r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρητικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζητήσιν χωρήσομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον:
9. 274v-337v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὃ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τούτῳ
 Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
10. 338r-390v Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἔννατον
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσ[π *sup. lin.*]αμένους:
11. 391r-428v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν σύμψασαν τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος:
 429r Τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησην δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:

12. 429r-438 Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους· ζη-
τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειδόν
ἐστίν· περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ·
inc.: Δισσοὶ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκεύας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον·
περὶ δευλίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειόν· . . .

At the beginning of treatises and occasionally else-
where, a second, later hand has indicated page numbers that
correspond to the 1569 Latin translation of Gentian Hervetus.
Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the
text. The explicit of item 12 is derived according to Hermann
Mutschmann, "Die Überlieferung der Schriften des Sextus Empiri-
cus," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 64 (1909): 246. The
scribe, Emmanuel Embenes, was a Greek scribe of the Vatican
Library (Vogel and Gardthausen, p. 117).

Es

Escorialensis gr. 136 (T. I. 16)

i, 380 ff., 33 x 27 cm., chartaceous, 30 lines
16th century

1. 1r-47v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς μαθηματικούς
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψώμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας,
ἃ δὲ λέγειν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς τέλος:
2. 48r-61v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῶν ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
3. 62r-77r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ, πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλῆθος
. . .
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τεῖναι ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς:
Τέλος πρὸς γεωμέτραι τοῦ Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ:
4. 77r-81r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστίν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησώμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς, τέλος:

5. 81r-93r Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητήσαι. . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Τέλος τῶν Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους
ἦτοι μαθηματικῶς:
6. 93r-100v Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοὺς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τῆς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
7. 101r-162v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον, πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς τῶν δύο
τὸ πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: περὶ κριτηρίου
inc.: Ἡ [ἽΟ *sup. lin.*] μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτι-
κῆς δυναμικῶς χαρακτηρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασσόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀλικοῦς διαπορεῖν:
8. 163r-230v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον, σκεπτικῶν, τὸ δεῦτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς, εἴωθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν,
χωρήσομεν:
9. 231r-286v Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσμάτων,
ὁμοίως ἐστὶ τοῦτῳ:
287r Τέλος Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:
10. 287r-336v Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡλικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
337r Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον τέλος..
11. 337r Σέξτου έμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
δέκατον: τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
337v-371r *inc.*: Τὰς μὲν κομίζομένας, ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτ[([ης])]οις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Τέλος τῶν τοῦ Σέξτου σκεπτικῶν τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:

12. 371v-380v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους· ζη-
τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειλόν
ἔστι: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Δισσοῦ λόγου λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ
τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκίᾳς δὲ, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον·
περὶ δειλίας, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑπειόν:
[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, οὐκ
εὐρέθη.

On the preliminary folio is a brief description of the contents of the manuscript. There is an unnumbered folio between folios 26 and 27. The number 146 was skipped in the numbering of the folios. Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. In item 12 the scribe has left gaps in the text to indicate lacunae.

P3

Parisinus gr. 1965

i, 323 ff., 33 x 22 cm., chartaceous, 30-31 lines
16th century

1. 1r-46r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς·
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῦ λέγειν: τέλος· τέλος· τέλος
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς·
2. 46r-59v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς·
inc.: Τοῦς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῶν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρως καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν, ἀπτάμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς·
3. 59v-73v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρως·
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτρως συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
* * *
exp.: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστι τοῦς γεωμέ-
τρως ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Ἐκτοῦ ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρως. Ξε--τέλος
τέλος·
74r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρως.
4. 74r-78r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῦς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .

- exp.*: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησόμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς.
5. 78r-89v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους.
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι. . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ζήτησιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους, ἥτοι μαθη-
ματικούς:
6. 89v-97r Πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς· καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
7. 97r-153v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικούς. τῶν δύο τὸ
πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας· περὶ κριτηρίου·
inc.: Ἡ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμεις
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασόμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου:
8. 153v-197v Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτ[ι *add. sup. lin.*]κῶν τὸ
δεύτερον·
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς ζήτησιν
χωρήσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ἕβδομον·
9. 197v-246r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὅμοιός ἐστι τούτῳ:
Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον·
10. 246r-288r Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἔννατον:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένους ἡμῖν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασμένους·
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἔννατον·
11. 288r-317r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
δέκατον· τὰδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν κομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν <ν>

ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν·
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος
 τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντιρρήσιν
 δέκα ὑπομνημάτων:

12. 317r-323v Δωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους· ζη-
 τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειόν
 ἐστι: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ:
inc.: Δισσοῦ λόγῳ λέγονται ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ὑπὸ
 τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλειστον·
 περὶ δειλίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπειόν· . . .
 [in marg.:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον οὐκ
 εὐρέθη·

On the preliminary folio is a brief description of the contents of the manuscript. There are some marginalia by a later hand. There is a change of hand at folio 172v and a change back to the first hand at folio 198v. Items 8-11 each contain a list of chapter headings following the title. In item 12, the scribe has left gaps in the text where there are lacunae.

P5

Parisinus gr. 2081

i, 336 ff., 23 x 15.5 cm., chartaceous, 24 lines
 16th century

1. iir-16v <Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:>
inc.: . . . πολλῶν ἀκαταλλῆλων λέξεων προη-
 νεικάμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῆν τὴν οὕτως λέξιν ἢ αὕτη·
 . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
 ὃν δεῖ λέγειν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ γραμματικῆς:
2. 16v-31v Περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: Τοῖς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
 ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
 λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθ-
 μητικοὺς ἀποριῶν ἀπτώμεθα:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
3. 31v-46v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρους:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλήθος
 . . .

- 47r *exp.*: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαίρεῦν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτρας:
4. 47r-51r *Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:*
inc.: 'Επειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχέσι σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρ-
ρησιν ποιησώμεθα:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
5. 51r-63r *Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:*
inc.: Περὶ ἀστρολογίας ἥ μαθηματικῆς πρόκειται
ζητῆσαι' . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς ζητήσιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους, ἥτοι μαθη-
ματικούς:
6. 63r-71r *Πρὸς μουσικούς:*
inc.: 'Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς, καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
7. 71r-130v *Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον πρὸς τοὺς λογικούς τῶν δύο τὸ*
πρῶτον περὶ φιλοσοφίας: [περὶ κριτηρίου: in
 marg.]
inc.: 'Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμειος
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασώμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ κριτηρίου'
8. 130v-196v *Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύτερον:*
inc.: 'Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἰώθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς ζητήσιν
χωρήσομεν:
[*m. sec.*:] Τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου πρὸς λογικούς
περὶ φιλοσοφίας:
[*m. pr.*:] Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
ἕβδομον:
9. 196v *Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:*
197r-250r *inc.*: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων,
ὁμοιός ἐστι τοῦτῃ:
Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ὄγδοον:

10. 250r Σέξτου τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
 250v-294v *inc.*: Τοῦς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
 προηπορημένους ἡμῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
 σοφίας ἀσπασαμένους:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικῶς τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
11. 294v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικῶς τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
 δέκα[*add. sup. lin.*]τον: τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ
 δεκάτῳ:
 295r-327r *inc.*: Τῆς μὲν κομιζομένης ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
 ἀπορίας . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς
 σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν:
 Σέξτου ἐμπειρικῶς ὑπομνημάτων τὸ δέκατον: τέλος
 τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικῶς Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν
 δέκα ὑπομνημάτων
12. 327r-334v Λωρικῆς διαλέκτου ἐντεῦθεν ἕως τοῦ τέλους· ζη-
 τεῖται δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα σέξτειλόν
 ἐστὶ: περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ [*κα add. sup. lin.*]κοῦ:
inc.: Διςσοὺ λόγῳ λέγονται ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ὑπὸ
 τῶν φιλοσοφούντων . . .
exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκεύας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν "Ἡφαίστον"
 περὶ δειλίας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Επειλόν' . . .
 [*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπύλοιπον οὐκ
 εὐρέθη:

On the preliminary folio is a brief description in Latin of the manuscript. Many corrections and marginal *custodes* have been added by a second hand throughout. Item 1 begins in section 212; only the bottom half of the first surviving folio remains; at the bottom of the recto side, a much later hand has written: *λείπει τετράδια τέσσερα· κεφάλαιον ὀκτωκαι-δέκατον καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἑννεακαιδεκάτου*: Numbering starts with the next folio, which is whole. Items 8-11 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. The scribe has left gaps in the text of item 12 to indicate where lacunae occur. Folio 335r (numbered 336) is blank; on folio 336 is a table of contents in Greek.

Va

Vaticanus gr. 1338

i, 700 ff. in three volumes: ff. i-275, ff. 276-461, and ff. 462-700, chartaceous, 15 x 19 cm.; ff. 1-17, 22-25 lines; ff. 26-146, 19 lines; ff. 152-700, 20 lines.
 16th century

1. 1r-17r Ματθαίου Δεβαρῇ παρασημειώσεις τῶν ὀδωμάτων
τῆς φράσεως τῶν Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑποτυπώσεων,
καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπορουμένων περὶ τὴν γράφην
τῶν ἀντιγράφων:
2. 26r-86v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν
εἰς τρία τὸ πρῶτον.
inc.: Τοῖς ζητοῦσιν τι πρᾶγμα, ἢ εὐρεσιν ἐπα-
κολουθεῖν εἰκός: ἢ ἀρνησιν εὐρέσεως, . . .
exp.: . . . καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων σύν-
ταγμα:
86v-87r Εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς
τρία τὸ πρῶτον:
3. 87r-v Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑπο-
τυπώσεων:
87v-160r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ δεύτερον:
inc.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ζητήσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δογμα-
τικούς μετήλθομεν, . . .
exp.: . . . περιγράφομεν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τῶν
ὑποτυπώσεων σύνταγμα:
4. 160v-161r Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων: τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ
τρίτῳ τῶν πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων:
161v-227v Πυρρωνείων ὑποτυπώσεων τῶν εἰς τρία τὸ τρίτον:
inc.: Περὶ μὲν τοῦ λογικοῦ μέρους τῆς λεγομένης
φιλοσοφίας . . .
exp.: . . . ὡς ἀρκοῦντας αὐτῷ πολλάκις πρὸς τὸ
ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον:
5. 227v *inc.*: Ὡς Πύρρων μέγα θαῦμα πεφασμένον ὡς πλέον
οὐδέν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὰ πρῶτιστα φέρεις ὧν σοφίης
κατέγνωσ:
6. 232r-296r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μαθηματικούς:
inc.: Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντίρ-
ρησιν . . .
exp.: . . . σκεψάμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας
ἃ δεῖ λέγειν:
7. 296r-314v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ περὶ ῥητορικῆς:
inc.: <Τ>οῖς περὶ γραμματικῆς διεξοδευθεῖσιν
ἡμῖν, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἶη, καὶ περὶ ῥητορικῆς
λέγειν, . . .
exp.: . . . τῶν πρὸς τοὺς γεωμέτραι καὶ ἀριθ-
μητικούς ἀποριῶν ἀπώμεθα:
8. 314v-335v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς γεωμέτραι:
inc.: <Ε>πεὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι συνορῶντες τὸ πλη-
θος . . .

- exp.*: . . . οὐκ ἄρα δυνατόν ἐστὶ τοὺς γεωμέ-
τραις ἀφαιρεῖν τι καὶ τέμνειν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς:
9. 335v-341v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀριθμητικούς:
inc.: <Ἐ>πειδὴ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς
συνεχεσί σώμασιν, . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀντίρ-
ρῃσιν ποιησώμεθα:
10. 341v-358v Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς ἀστρολόγους:
inc.: <Π>ερὶ ἀστρολογίας ἡ μαθηματικῆς πρόκει-
ται ζητῆσαι' . . .
exp.: . . . τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μουσικούς ζητήσιν
ἀποδώσομεν:
11. 359r-370r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς:
inc.: Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς, καθ' ἓνα μὲν
τρόπον ἐπιστήμη τις . . .
exp.: . . . ἐν τοσοῦτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα
διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν:
12. 370r-448v [Va²: Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς φιλοσοφίας πρῶτον]
inc.: Ὁ μὲν καθόλου τῆς σκεπτικῆς δυνάμews
χαρακτήρ . . .
exp.: . . . πειρασώμεθα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ
ἀποτομὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπορεῖν:
13. 448v-526r Τῶν κατὰ Σέξτον σκεπτικῶν τὸ δεύτερον:
inc.: Ὅσα μὲν ἀπορρηματικῶς εἴωθε λέγεσθαι
παρὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς ζητήσιν
χωρήσομεν:
Τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου πρὸς λογικούς περὶ φιλοσο-
φίας:
14. 527r-592r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ ὑπομνημάτων τὸ ὄγδοον:
inc.: Τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν μετὰ τὸ λογικὸν
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρος . . .
exp.: . . . ὁ περὶ τῶν λειπομένων ἀσωμάτων
ῥοιός, ἐστὶν τοῦτ' αὖ:
15. 593r-648r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα τὸ ἕννατον:
inc.: Τοὺς περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περάτων
προηπορημένοις ἡμῶν, . . .
exp.: . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ ἡθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀσπασμένους:
Τέλος τοῦ ἑνάτου: τέλος
16. 649r-690r Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ τῶν εἰς δέκα ὑπομνημάτων τὸ
δέκατον τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ:
inc.: Τὰς μὲν νομιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν σκεπτικῶν
ἀπορίας . . .

exp.: . . . ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν σύμπασαν τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς διεξοδὸν ἀπαρτίζομεν: Τέλος τῶν τοῦ σκεπτικοῦ Σέξτου τῶν πρὸς ἀντίρρησιν δέκα ὑπομνημάτων·

17. 690v-700v Τὸ ἐφεξῆς σύγγραμμα ὁρωρικῆς ὄν διαλέκτου ζητεῖται εἰ σέξτειλὸν ἐστίν· περὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ·

inc.: Δισσοὶ λόγοι λέγονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοφρονούντων . . .

exp.: . . . περὶ χαλκείας δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡφαιστον· περὶ δειλίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπειόν:

[*in marg.*:] Σημεῖωσαι ὅτι τὸ ἐπύλοιπον οὐκ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ.

Item 1 consists of a list of comments by Matthaeus Devarius on the text of the works of Sextus Empiricus. Some are explanations of idioms, others are comments on the state of the text, including variants and suggested emendations. There are annotations by Devarius throughout the manuscript, except the portion in the second scribal hand, ff. 152-275. Devarius identifies his own remarks and suggestions by the siglum \overline{M} . At the top of f. 110r is the annotation "haec ex Gentiani Latina huius operis translatione graeca fecit Matthaeus Devarius, quae desunt in graeco exemplari, pag. 242b." Folio 454 is headed by "ex Gentiani Herveti Latina huius operis in prolatione [?] apparet permulta deesse in hoc nostro exemplari. Quae ex Latinis graeca fecit Matthaeus Devarius." What follows on ff. 454-455 has the appearance of a rough draft, having about 18-20 lines per side. (On Matthaeus Devarius, see p. 65 *supra*.)

There are changes in the scribal hand at ff. 26r, 152, and 276. Items 3, 4, and 13-16 each have a list of chapter headings preceding the text. The number 58 was skipped when the folios were numbered. Folios 17v-25v, 147-151, 228-31 are blank. Folio 526v is blank except at the bottom in the hand of Devarius: τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου πρὸς λογικοῦς περὶ φιλοσοφίας. Folio 592v is blank except for the words οὐδὲν λείπει at the top and bottom; folio 648v is blank except for the words οὐδὲν λείπει at the top.

The Text of the Adversus musicos

The Relationship of the Manuscripts to One Another

The manuscripts surveyed fall into two main families, which will be called b and d throughout this edition. Those included in family b are FBMeStaEMPOP4RU; those in family d

are FiP2VeP6MoTP7VCEsP3P5Va.¹⁴⁹ The following readings illustrate this general division.

	<i>family b</i>	<i>family d</i>
120.3	καταγινομένη	καταγινομένη
124.9	διτιτόν (διπτόν FB)	εἰπεῖν
128.1-2	παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰωθότα	εἰωθότα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς
128.2	θρυλεῖσθαι (θρυλλεῖσθαι EP4)	θρυλλεῖσθαι
128.5	ὅτι	<i>deest</i>
130.6	ἀνδρείῳ	ἀνδρῖᾱ
130.9	ἔνρυθμον (ἐν ῥυθμῶν U)	εὐρυθμον
132.3	ὕπῳ	ὕπ'
132.4	μηνῶν (μηνῶν FB)	μηνῶν (μηνῶν Va)
136.1	τε (om.EU)	γε (om.P3Fi)
136.7	εἰς	ἐς
138.3	<i>deest</i>	καὶ
138.9	ἦ δ'	ἦ δ'
138.11	δὲ	<i>deest</i>
142.1	μύλου	μύλωνος
142.2	συμπλαταγουσῶν (συμπλατουγῶν E)	συμπλαταγουσῶν
142.14	σεσοβημένην	σεσοφισμένην
142.16-17	τοῖς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως	ἀκαίρως τοῖς μεθύοντας
144.11	ἀνδρείαν	ἀνδρῖαν
146.11	τὸν	<i>deest</i>
146.15	ἀσύμφωρον	ἀσύμφωνον
148.8	ἀγαθοῦς	ἀγαθοῦς (ἀγαθοῦς P5 ² R)
154.6	κατ' αὐτὰ	κατὰ ταῦτὰ FiP2P7Ve κατὰ ταῦτα MoP6Tk
154.9	χρειώδη	χρειώδης
154.10	αὐτὴν λέγειν	λέγειν αὐτὴν
156.13-14	καὶ ἥδη γεύσεως τὸ γλυκέων ἢ πικρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι,	<i>deest</i>
160.7	γεῦσιν (γένσιν <i>ante</i> <i>corr.</i> Ta)	γεύσει
162.2	ἐπὶ	<i>deest</i>
166.4	μὲν τι	μέντοι (μὲν τι P6)
168.2	εἵχεν	ἔχει
168.3	om.	ἐν
176.3	<i>deest</i>	οἷ
176.15	δ' (δὲ M)	δὲ
178.11	ἔσται	<i>deest</i>
178.13	δουεῖν (δουοῖν M)	δουοῖν
180.5	δ'	δὲ

¹⁴⁹See Conspectus Codicum et Notarum, p. 117 *infra*.

In instances where one reading is definitely preferable to the other, family b may be considered in general to have the most authority, for example, in the readings cited above at 142.1, 142.14, 146.15, 148.8, and 156.13-14. There are passages, however, where the reading of family d seems to accord more with the style and context of a particular passage, for example, the readings at 142.2, 154.6, and 154.10, but these are not telling.¹⁵⁰

These two families further divide into smaller subgroups. Family b is comprised of f (BEFMeSTa), g (OPP4RU), and the single manuscript M, which does not fit into either of these smaller subgroups. Family d includes h (MoP2P6Tve), k (CEsP3P5VVa), and manuscripts Fi and P7, which do not seem to belong to either of the smaller subgroups. The distinguishing characteristics of each of these subgroups consist mainly of errors. It is rare that a reading that occurs in only one of the smaller subgroups is found preferable to a consensus of the rest of the manuscripts.

Family b

The manuscript with the greatest authority is Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11 (F). The text seems to have been carefully copied: few spelling errors are found, and no lines attested in other manuscripts are lacking. Its readings in general are supported by the other manuscripts. It is evident, however, that some readings are errors. For example, at 124.9 a ττ has been mistaken for a π, resulting in δαπόν for δαιτόν; at 126.6, an ending has been left off, perhaps due to an abbreviation in an ancestor, resulting in ἀνηρῆ for ἀνηρῆσθαι; at 132.7, δαυ has been converted to the phonetically equivalent (in later Greek) δε, resulting in δε δαλέη for δαιδαλέη; and at 132.8 there has perhaps been an interpolation of a marginal explanatory word or variant reading--αἰρεσιν (this appears in a passage where Sextus Empiricus is quoting from the *Iliad*, which has the reading τὴν ἄρετ').

The several *custodes* found in the margins of F may be evidence of an early tradition. A set of nearly identical *custodes* is found in Monacensis gr. 159 (M).¹⁵¹ No other manuscript of family b preserves the *custodes*; family d preserves two: ὁρος φωνῆς (156.10) and ὁρος φθόγγου (158.10).

¹⁵⁰A general orthographic characteristic of family b manuscripts is the retention of the sigma in οὕτως even when the following word begins with a consonant.

¹⁵¹See pp. 101-2 *infra*.

Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45 (B) is very closely related to F and may be a direct descendant. That B is posterior and not prior to F is supported by an occasional spelling error in B (e.g., at 152.5, 156.10, 178.16) not found in F and the lack of *custodes* in B. B does not duplicate the error of F at 142.6 (ϙπων for ϙπων), but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the scribe of B could correct the error without the support of another text. Other errors of F, which are discussed above, are also found in B.

Mertonensis gr. 304 (Me), Oxoniensis Bodleianus Savilianus gr. 1 (S), Taurinensis gr. 158 (Ta), and Escorialensis gr. 40 (E) are very closely related to one another and also to F and B. The group of six manuscripts as a whole will be cited throughout as subgroup f, and readings that support this relationship are the following.

	<i>subgroup f</i>	<i>cett.</i> ¹⁵²
122.1	φαλιτηρίας	φαλιτρίας
130.2	μη δὲ	μηδὲν
156.7	παρεστηκότες	παρεστακότες
164.2	τι <i>deest</i> (also MP4)	τι

Manuscripts of subgroup f also share the same title (Πρὸς μουσικούς) and the same caption at the conclusion of the treatise (Σέξτου ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς).¹⁵³

Readings that point out a more particular relationship among Me, S, Ta, and E are:

	<i>MeSTaE</i>	<i>cett.</i>
126.9	ἐφοδεύσωμεν	ἐφοδεύσομεν
136.2	ἐγγόνους	ἐγκόνους (ἐγκόνους FBP4)
138.9	ὀγροβόλους	ὕγροβόλους (ὀγροβόλους B)
152.9	οἶνοχευστικῆς	οἶνογευστικῆς
166.7	λυγηρόν	λιγυρόν

Me and S are more closely related to one another than to Ta and E, and Ta and E show some evidence of possible con-

¹⁵²In listings such as this in the introduction, variant readings and corrections by a later hand other than those found in the group to be contrasted (subgroup f in this instance) are not noted unless they are significant to the discussion. A complete set of variants can be found in the critical apparatus to the text.

¹⁵³Other manuscripts also have these same titles, for which, see the critical apparatus.

tamination. Evidence of the closer relationship of Me and S is found in the following readings.

	MeS	cett.
130.5	σωφρονισθέντας	σωφρονισθέντας
142.6	ταρακτικὸν	ταρακτικὸν
146.6	κατέκταμεν	κατέκτανεν
146.7	Πενελόπη	Πηνελόπη
170.6	φωνῇ	φωνή
172.6	ἐν ἐστὶ	ἐνεστι
178.3	μὴ δέ πω	μηδέπω

Readings that demonstrate a deviation of Ta from the grouping demonstrated above are found in the following.

132.7	καλῇ δὲ δαλέῃ FBMeSE	καλῇ δαυδαλέῃ Ta et cett.
142.1	τύπος MeSE	κτύπος Ta et cett.

E shows significant irregularities in the following:

128.2	ῥυλεῖσθαι b (except EP4)	ῥυλλεῖσθαι EP4d
130.4	μεταβαλλεῖν ECESFiMoP5P6P7TVVaVe	μεταβαλεῖν cett. (as can be noted, E here shares a reading characteristic of b)
132.2	προτρέπει MeStA	προτρέπει E et cett.
160.11	ἐμποιεῖ c. var. lect. in marg.	ἐντυποῦ EP7V ἐμποιεῖ c. var. lect. in marg. ἐκτυποῦ C ἐκτυποῦ M ἐμποιεῖ in marg. U ³ ἐμποιεῖ ἐντυποῦ P5Va ἐμποιεῖ ποιότητα ἢ ἐντυποῦ Es ἐντυποῦ cett. (as is evident, the variant reading here is most characteristic of subgroup k [see <i>infra</i>])

At 152.4, Ta and E share the reading κυλεῖται while the other manuscripts (except FiPe) have κηλεῖται.

Monacensis gr. 159 (M) is the earliest surviving manuscript that contains the *Adversus musicos*. Unfortunately, it seems not to have been very well copied and the text suffers from the lack of many words essential to the context. Some of the more significant examples of this are as follows:

146.10-11	ἤγειρε τῷ γήμαντι; καὶ μὴν εἰ οὕτε οἱ περὶ τὸν
158.13	Πλάτωνα μουσικὴν deest in M
168.3	μὴ deest in M
168.3	αὐτῶν deest in M
170.4	μὴ deest in M
176.4	ἐὰν deest in M

M shares the significant reading of F and B at 126.6: ἀνρηρῇ for ἀνρηρῆσθαι. Where the text is not riddled by omissions, the readings are good. The manuscript is therefore much more

useful in its support of readings of the other manuscripts than in establishing any text on its own.

Parisinus gr. 1964 (P) appears to be an ancestor of Vaticanus Rossianus gr. 979 (R), Vaticanus gr. 217 (U), Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 21 (O), and Parisinus gr. 1966 (P4), and this subgroup of five manuscripts will be cited collectively as *g*. Readings characteristic of this group are:

	<i>subgroup g</i>	<i>cett.</i>
124.9	διπλόν	διπλόν FB εἰπεῦν d διτιτόν <i>cett.</i>
132.8	τὴν αἴας ἔλετ'	τὴν αἴρεσιν λετ' FB τὴν ἔλετ' <i>cett.</i>
146.11	ἀπεδέξαντο (also EsM; ἀπ' ἐδέξαντο U)	ἀπεδέξαντο
148.4	ἐγκεχειρισμένα	ἐγκεχειρημένα
152.1	γινόμενον	γινόμεναι
156.5	ἐνρῦθμων	ἐνρῦθμων
156.15	μεταφορικώτερον δὲ ἀπο	μεταφορικώτερον ἀπὸ
162.8	πολλῶν	πασῶν
166.9	διαίρετόν (διαίρέτερον P4)	ἀδιαίρετον
170.2	αὐτῆς (<i>deest</i> in P4)	ταύτης
170.5	ὑπῆρχον	ὑπῆρχεν

Some features of P4 may indicate contamination, such as a variant reading, failure to share in a reading that is shared by other manuscripts in the group, or its sharing in a reading that is typical of another group. Some examples are:

126.9	ἐφοδεύσωμεν P4MeSTaE
128.2	θρυλλεῖσθαι P4Ed
136.2	ἐγκόνους P4FB ἐγγόνους MeSTaE
138.4	παλαιδὸν <i>c. var. lect. in marg.</i> πάλαι P4
140.9	τοιοῦτον P4MC
154.10	ἦδη P4 ἦδει OPR
164.2	τι <i>deest</i> in P4Mf
164.7	ἀγενῆ P4ME

Because of the high degree of coincidence of errors in R and U, it is most likely that U is a direct descendant of R. The initial letter of the *Adversus musicos*, 'H, was never added in R (as is the case with many of the titles and initial letters in that manuscript). U, accordingly, begins directly with Μουσική. Some of the other significant examples of the relationship between R and U are:

	<i>RU</i>	<i>cett.</i>
134.3	βαθειγήρως	βαθυγήρως
142.12-13	<i>deest</i>	ὕπνος ἢ ὁ οὔνος οὐ λυεῖ τὴν λυπὴν ἀλλ'
146.8	τοὺς	τὰς (τῆς h)
146.14	<i>deest</i>	τὴν
152.1-2	<i>deest</i>	ἡ ἀλέας· ἐλτα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρ-
164.4	ἐπὶ	καὶ
178.1-2	<i>deest</i>	τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνυπαρκτῶν συνεστῶς ἀνυπαρκτόν ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος

It must be noted, however, that the whole of U cannot have been copied from R, since U contains all of the surviving works of Sextus Empiricus, plus the *Dissoi logoi* included at the end of many of the manuscripts, and it does not have the poem that begins ὦ Πύρρων. Manuscript R, on the other hand, includes the poem that begins with ὦ Πύρρων; is lacking the *Dissoi logoi*, the book against the ethicists, and the second book against the physicists; and contains the first book against the physicists only up to section 194.¹⁵⁴ In the sixteenth century, U was rather extensively corrected and emended by Matthaeus Devarius (U³),¹⁵⁵ and in the correction, it was collated against Vaticanus gr. 1338 (Va). The more significant readings of U that demonstrate this are as follows.

124.9	διπλόν U διπλοῦν vel διττόν in marg.U ³ γράφεται διπλόν T διπλοῦν vel διττόν in marg.Va ² 156
146.11	εἰ οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ Va γράφεται εἰ οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ, puto οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ in marg.U ³
162.3	ἀνυαμένη Va in alio exemplari legitur ἀνυαμένη, puto ἀνιεμένη in marg.U ³

There is evidence that Devarius had access to the Hervetus translation of the *Adversus mathematicos* and used it,¹⁵⁷ and it seems that some of his emendations come from that source. For example:

	<i>in marg.U³</i>	<i>Herv.</i>
152.1	post ὑπὸ ci. σιτῶν ἢ	add. a cibo aut
158.4	post ξένον ci. εἰ	add. si
176.1	post χρόνους ci. <i>deest</i> copula	quomodo enim

¹⁵⁴See pp. 61-65 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁵⁵See p. 65 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁵⁶On the siglum T see p. 97 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁵⁷See p. 97 of the manuscript descriptions.

Family d

Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.24 (Fi) has consistently good readings and--aside from the faults of family d as a whole--presents relatively few errors. It has no close relatives in the manuscripts surveyed.

Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. IV/26 (Ve), Parisinus gr. 1963 (P2) and 2128 (P6), Monacensis gr. 79 (Mo), and Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (T) comprise subgroup h and are characterized by the following readings:

	<i>subgroup h</i>	<i>cett.</i>
132.8	ὀλέσας	ὀλέσσας
144.2	μικροῦ (also P7)	μικρῷ
144.13	καὶ	καὶ τοι
146.8	τῆς	τῶς (τοῦς RU)
154.13	τοιοῦτον (also FiMP7)	τοιοῦτο

Mo was probably the exemplar for T. The close relationship of the two manuscripts is evident in the following.

	<i>MoT</i>	<i>cett.</i>
128.4	παθήματα στέλλουσιν	πάθη καταστέλλουσιν
132.6	τρεπόμενος	τερπόμενος
136.7	ταῖς συνοδοῖς	ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς
142.14	μεταστέλλει	καταστέλλει
148.7	τρέ[ερ <i>sup. lin.</i>]πεται Mo τρέπεται T	τέρπεται
150.5	τρέ[ερ <i>sup. lin.</i>]πεσθαι Mo τρέπεσθαι T	τέρπεσθαι
164.6	δὲ	μὲν
170.1	'Ἄλλ' ὥς δέ τις κάκεύνων	'Ἄλλ' ὥδ' τις κάκεύνως
172.10	αὐτὰ	οὐ τὰ

T has, in addition, many errors not present in Mo.¹⁵⁸ This codex was collated with F or B or a close relative no longer extant.¹⁵⁹ A brief survey of some of the readings of the second hand easily demonstrates this.

	<i>reading of T²</i>	<i>codices with the same reading</i>
122.1	φαλητηρίας	Of
124.17	διπρόν	FB

¹⁵⁸For additional errors, refer to the critical apparatus.

¹⁵⁹The collation was probably done by Henri Estienne. See p. 81 of the manuscript descriptions.

130.2	μη δὲ	f
156.7	παρεστηκότες	P2f

A third hand seems to have made a few additional emendations in T, probably at time it was used in the preparation of the 1621 edition of the works of Sextus Empiricus.¹⁶⁰

Parisinus Supplementarius gr. 133 (P7) shares, for the most part, in d readings and may demonstrate a further affinity with subgroup h. It was collated with F or B or a closely related manuscript no longer available. That it may be related to subgroup h is shown by the following:

	P7h	cett.
144.2	μικροῦ	μικρῶ
154.13	τοιοῦτον (also FiM)	τοιοῦτο

The reading given by the second hand at 124.9, εἶπεῖν P7 δειπὼν FBP7², shows that P7 was collated with F or a close relative. Other readings of the second hand of P7 support a collation with family b in general.

Subgroup k is comprised of manuscripts Venetus Marci-anus gr. 262 (V), Parisinus gr. 1965 (P3), Escorialensis gr. 136 (Es), Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (C), Parisinus gr. 2081 (P5), and Vaticanus gr. 1338 (Va). Readings characteristic of this group are:

	subgroup k	cett.
126.3	τὸν μουσικὸν (τὴν μουσικὴν Es)	τῶν μουσικῶν
128.5	θελούσης	θελγούσης
140.9	deest (sup. lin.Es)	γὰρ
142.2	περὶ αὐτοῦ	περὶ αὐτοῦ
156.11	deest	γὰρ
156.12	τῶν	τὸ
158.1	θλάσιν	θλάσιν
166.3	deest	τοῦ
166.7	τέ	τί
178.4	τοῖ (also O)	τι

A second hand has made some corrections in P3. None of the corrected readings is of any group in particular, so it is difficult to identify with certainty the manuscript with which a collation may have taken place. One may wish to conjecture that the collation was with another manuscript of subgroup k, which would explain the lack of corrections in readings

¹⁶⁰See pp. 111-13 *infra*.

that are peculiar to this group.¹⁶¹ The readings of the second hand of P3 in connection with the variant readings found in VCP5Va are also noteworthy.

There is evidence of a more particular relationship among VCP5Va in the following.

	VCP5Va	cett.
138.1	οὐ	ἡ
146.11	εἰ	οὐ
158.4	φωνῆν <i>rep.</i> (not Va)	φωνῆν
168.11	συναίρουσι	συναναίρουσι

This group demonstrates evidence of contamination in two variant readings in some of the manuscripts at:

160.11	έντυποτ] έμποιεῖ <i>c. var. lect. in marg.</i> έντυποτ V (also EP7) έμποιεῖ <i>c. var. lect. in marg.</i> έκ-τυποτ C ὁδον έμποιεῖ έντυποτ P5Va έμποιεῖ ποιό-τητα ἡ έντυποτ Es (έμποιεῖ <i>c. var. lect. sup. lin.</i> έντυποτ P3 ²)
166.6	ὑπάρχει <i>c. var. lect. in marg.</i> ὑπῆρχε VCP5 (ὑπάρ-χει <i>c. var. lect. sup. lin.</i> ὑπῆρχε P3 ²)

Since the readings in the variants are typical of all of the other manuscript groups, it cannot be determined with which manuscript a collation may have taken place.

A second hand made a few corrections and emendations in P5, after which Va was copied from it. That P5 is the parent of Va is demonstrated by many common errors and also by the following:

	Va	P5
132.13	ἀποδημῶ ένθυ	ἀποδημῶθυ <i>c. εν sup. lin.</i> P5 ²
134.1	μὲν γα	εἰ μγα
142.18	αὐτῆς ους	αὐτῆς <i>c. ους sup. lin.</i> P5 ²
144.7	μέλο	με ⁰ [standard abbrevia- tion for ος ending]
144.10	τυμπάνει[ου <i>sup. lin.</i>]ς	τυμπάνεις <i>c. ου sup. lin.</i> P5 ²
152.9	ἡδόμεθα	ἡ δεόμεθα <i>em.</i> ἡδόμεθα P5 ²

¹⁶¹The present editor would conjecture that the collation was made with Parisinus gr. 2081 (P5).

172.3 νοούμενον γινέσσι καὶ νοούμενον γι[[νέσσι καὶ
 χρονικῇ παρεκ.νεται χρονικῇ παρεκ]]νεται

The corrections in P5, therefore, were made in the sixteenth century, contemporary with the codex, since the readings in Va are often dependent upon P5 readings in their corrected form. This is consistent with the possibility that P5 is the manuscript that was used by Gentianus Hervetus in his Latin translation of 1569.¹⁶² It must be noted, however, that P5 cannot be the exemplar of all of Va, since Va contains all of the surviving works of Sextus Empiricus and P5 contains only the *Adversus mathematicos*.¹⁶³

Manuscript Va was also emended and corrected to some degree by the hand of Matthaeus Devarius when he collated it against manuscript U.¹⁶⁴ The text of Va is rather poorly copied and may reveal in several places that the scribe did not understand what he was copying. The corrections by Devarius do not begin to cover all of the errors. As far as the *Adversus musicos* is concerned, it seems to have been his purpose to use Va in order to improve the readings of U, which is to begin with a much better manuscript. Va has many spelling errors that have generally not been indicated in the critical apparatus unless they are important to the transmission of the text or represent more than an orthographical problem. Words with a double lambda, for instance, are very often spelled with a single lambda.

Stemma

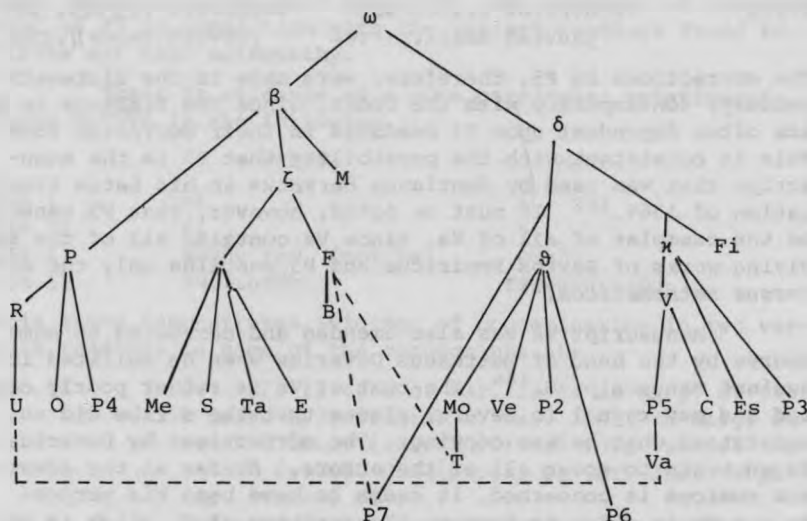
A stemma that demonstrates the relationship of the text of the *Adversus musicos* may be posited as appears on the following page. Dotted lines represent later collations. Where it is not clear which manuscript or manuscripts may have been used for correction or what the source of contamination might be, surmises have not been marked on the stemma. A cursory examination of the manuscript descriptions will reveal that, with the exceptions of U and Va,¹⁶⁵ this stemma also represents the relationship of the codices in their entirety.

¹⁶²See pp. 109-11 *infra*.

¹⁶³See pp. 92-97 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁶⁴See p. 97 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁶⁵Note p. 103 *supra*.



Other manuscripts

There are three manuscripts that contain the *Adversus musicos* for which microfilms were unfortunately unavailable for the work done in this edition: Regimontanus 16 b 12 (15th century), Berolinensis Phillippicus gr. 1518 (1542), and Vesontinus 409 (16th century). Regimontanus 16 b 12 was collated by Immanuel Bekker and the readings reported in his edition are characteristic of group k (but not of the more particular relationship of VCP5Va). Berolinensis Phillippicus gr. 1518 is cited in the edition of Jürgen Mau, and the readings reported by him place it in subgroup h.

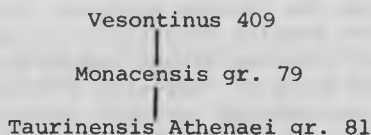
According to Hermann Mutschmann, Vesontinus 409 was an ancestor of Monacensis gr. 79.¹⁶⁶ This is very likely, considering the discussion by Mau, in which he points out the relationship between readings found in this manuscript and readings reported in the 1621 edition by Chouet.¹⁶⁷ The Chouet edition was taken from Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (T),¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶"Die Überlieferung der Schriften des Sextus Empiricus," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 64 (1909): 255, 277.

¹⁶⁷Jürgen Mau, ed., *Sexti Empirici opera*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1954-62), 1:xiv-xvi.

¹⁶⁸See p. 111 *infra*.

which probably had Monacensis gr. 79 (Mo) as its exemplar. If this is accurate, the relationship of these three manuscripts is as follows:



Individual readings found in Vesontinus 409 for the *Adversus mathematicos* are not cited by Mau.

Previous Editions

Four major editions of the *Adversus musicos* have previously been published: those of Chouet (1621), Fabricius (1718), Bekker (1842), and Mau (1954). None of these editions, however, is based on a study of a majority of the extant manuscripts. Significant features of these editions are outlined in the following discussion.

Hervetus (1569)

Although not properly termed an edition, the translation into Latin by Gentianus Hervetus, published in 1569, is significant because its readings affected later editions. The translation was derived from a manuscript of subgroup k (family d), but it cannot be determined whether the specific manuscript survives. The relationship to this group is indicated by various readings peculiar to subgroup k that appear in the translation. Some specific examples are:

- 126.3 *apud musicum Herv.* πρὸς τὸν μουσικὸν k (πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν Es) πρὸς τῶν μουσικῶν *cett.*
 128.5 *voluntaria quadam persuasione Herv.* θελούσης τινδς πειθοῦς k θελγούσης τινδς πειθοῦς *cett.*

In addition, the phrase καὶ ἥδη γεύσεως τὸ γλυκῶν ἢ πικρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι (156.13-14) is not found in any of the manuscripts of family d (except when added by a later hand through collation with a manuscript of family b, as with P7 and T) and is lacking in the Hervetus translation.

Of the manuscripts surveyed, Parisinus gr. 2081 (P5) seems most likely to have been the one used in the translation.¹⁶⁹ P5 shows evidence of concentrated study of some sort. There are many marginalia in a later hand (mostly

¹⁶⁹This conjecture assumes, of course, that the manu-

custodes and some corrections), there are additional corrections and some emendations in the main body of the text, and proper names in the text have been underlined. At 142.16-17 all of family d has the reading ἀκαίρους τοὺς μεθύοντας, whereas family b has the reading τοὺς μεθύοντας ἀκαίρως. P5 is the only manuscript of subgroup k that has an alteration of ἀκαίρους to the adverb ἀκαίρως. Hervetus's translation at this point. "intempestive volebat ebrios," would indicate ἀκαίρως rather than ἀκαίρους in the parent manuscript. P5 is also the only one of subgroup k to have the emendation ἡδόμεθα from the original ἡ δέομεθα. The reading ἡ δέομεθα is common to all of the manuscripts except Va, which was copied from P5 after it was emended and corrected.¹⁷⁰ Hervetus renders this as "delectamur."

It must also be noted that in Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (C), which falls in subgroup k, a later hand has occasionally added notes indicating corresponding page numbers in the Hervetus translation.¹⁷¹ Otherwise, however, the manuscript seems to be in pristine condition and shows no other editorial marks, corrections, or emendations.

The Hervetus translation is valuable in tracing the establishment of the Greek text. It is reasonable to postulate that it affected the early Greek editions, when one considers that the 1621 edition, published by Peter and Jacob Chouet, included the Hervetus translation. Fabricius also included the translation in his edition, but it must be noted that he frequently modified the Latin to bring it into greater harmony with his Greek text.

Some emendations of later editors can be traced to the Hervetus edition, for example:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 132.14 | suarum Herv. αὐτῶν Bekk. Mau αὐτῶν codd. |
| 144.7 | animi Herv. λήματος ci. Chouet (the conjecture is accepted by later editors) λήματος codd. |
| 152.1 | cibo aut add. Herv. βρώματος ἢ add. Fabr. |
| 158.4 | alienum, si Herv. ξένον εἰ edd. in marg. T ³ ci. in marg. U ³ (the codices have no εἰ, and in the |

script, which is today missing several folios, was whole at that time. See p. 94 of the manuscript descriptions.

¹⁷⁰See pp. 106-7 *supra*. U and T, neither of which is of subgroup k, show a like emendation by later hands.

¹⁷¹A relationship between C and the Hervetus translation is noted by Io. Albertus Fabricius, ed., *Sexti Empirici opera graece et latine*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Kuehniana, 1841), 1:ix.

- 176.1 better manuscripts there is a colon after ξένον)
quomodo enim *Herv.* καθάπερ γὰρ *Bekk.*

Chouet (1621)

The 1621 edition published by Peter and Jacob Chouet is the *editio princeps* of the works of Sextus Empiricus in Greek. The manuscript used for the edition is Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (T). In this manuscript, there are various editorial marks and numbers in the margins that correspond to the page numbers of the Chouet edition, all entered by the third hand, but the most convincing evidence of the use of manuscript T for the edition is found in a comparison of readings that appear in the edition with those found in the manuscript.

T seems to have originally descended from Mo, and it was later collated--probably by Henri Estienne--with F, as noted above. The Chouet edition (the actual editor is not named) indicates that it was derived from a manuscript with readings in the margin that vary from the original text, and these *varia lectiones* are included in the edition. The specific readings from the *Adversus musicos* are as follows (the loci are those of this edition):

- 122.1 φαλτρύας] The Chouet edition reads φαλτρύας and indicates that φαλτηρύας appears in the margin of the manuscript. T has φαλτρύας in the original text with φαλτηρύας in the margin by T².
- 124.9 δυτιόν] The Chouet edition reads εἶπεῦν and indicates that δυκόν ἐστι appears in the margin of the manuscript. T has εἶπεῦν in the original text with δυκόν ἐστι in the margin by T².
- 128.4 πάθη καταστέλλουσαν] The Chouet edition accepts the reading πάθη καταστέλλουσαν, but indicates that παθήματα στέλλουσαν appears in the original text of the manuscript. T has παθήματα στέλλουσαν in the original text with πάθη καταστέλλουσαν in the margin by T².
- 130.2 μηδὲ] The Chouet edition has the reading μηδε and indicates that μηδὲν appears in the original text of the manuscript. T has μηδὲν in the text by the original hand and μὴ δὲ in the margin by T².
- 130.9 ἐνρυθμον] The Chouet edition reads ἐνρυθμον and indicates that the reading εὐρυθμον appears in the original text of the manuscript. T² has written ἐνρυθμον while the text of the original scribe reads εὐρυθμον.
- 142.1 μύλου] The Chouet edition accepts the reading μύλωνος and indicates that μύλου is to be found

- in the margin. T has μύλου while T² has indicated μύλωνος in the margin.
- 142.2 συμπαταγουσῶν] The Chouet edition has the reading συμπαταγουσῶν and indicates that συμπαταγουσῶν is found in the margin. T has συμπαταγουσῶν while συμπαταγουσῶν is written in the margin by T².
- 142.16-17 τοῖς μεθύοντας ἀκαύρως] The edition has τοῖς μεθύοντας ἀκαύρως but indicates that ἀκαύρους τοῖς μεθύοντας is found in the original text. T² has written τοῖς μεθύοντας ἀκαύρως in the margin and ἀκαύρους τοῖς μεθύοντας is in the original scribal hand.
- 144.13 οὐ παράδοξον] The Chouet edition accepts the reading οὐ παράδοξον and indicates that ἀπαράδοξον is the original reading of the manuscript. T² has written οὐ παράδοξον above the line, and ἀπαράδοξον is the reading of the original hand.
- 146.15 ἀσύμφορον] The edition reads ἀσύμφορον and indicates that ἀσύμφωνον was written by the original scribe. T² has written ἀσύμφορον in the margin, and ἀσύμφωνον is the reading of the original.
- 148.7 & 150.5 τέρπεται/τέρπεσθαι] The Chouet edition reads τέρπεται and τέρπεσθαι, respectively, and indicates that τρέπεται and τρέπεσθαι are the readings of the original. The original hand of T has written τρέπεται and τρέπεσθαι while T² has written in the margin τέρπεται and τέρπεσθαι.
- 158.8 ὥς] ὥς is the reading adopted in the edition, and it is indicated that φ is the original reading of the manuscript. T² has written ὥς and φ is the original reading.
- 160.7 γεῦσιν] The reading of the edition is γεῦσιν, and it is indicated that γεύσει is the reading of the original. T² has indicated γεῦσιν above the line, but γεύσει is the reading of the original.
- 168.2 εἶχεν] The Chouet edition reads ἔχει and indicates that εἶχεν is to be found in the margin of the manuscript. T has ἔχει in the original body of text, and T² has written εἶχεν in the margin.
- 170.1 'Αλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως] The edition has the reading ἀλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως and indicates that ἀλλ' ὥς δέ τις κἀκεῖνων is the original reading of the manuscript. T² has written ἀλλ' ὥδέ τις κἀκεῖνως in the margin while ἀλλ' ὥς δέ τις κἀκεῖνων is the original reading of the manuscript.
- 178.1 ἀνύπαρκτον] The edition accepts the reading ἀνύπαρκτον and indicates that ἀνυπαρκτου is the

- original reading of the manuscript. T² has written ἀνυπαρκτον in the margin, and the original scribe wrote ἀνυπαρκτου.
- 178.8 αὐτοῦ] The Chouet edition reads αὐτοῦ while indicating that αὐτῶν is the original reading of the manuscript. T² has written αὐτοῦ, and the original scribe wrote αὐτῶν.

In addition to emendations noted in connection with the Hervetus translation above, there is other evidence of the influence of the Latin translation on the Greek edition. At 156.6, all of the manuscripts have the reading οἱ ῥυθμοὶ, but the 1621 edition has emended this to οἱ ἀριθμοὶ. The Hervetus translation renders this phrase as "numeri." While the Latin "numerus" is equivalent to ἀριθμὸς, or "number," according to its primary definition, "numerus" also means "rhythm." The editors of the 1621 edition apparently misconstrued the phrase and adopted the reading οἱ ἀριθμοὶ in consideration of Hervetus's "numeri."

Fabricius (1718; revised edition, 1841)

The edition of Io. Albertus Fabricius (1718; revised ed., 1841) cites three manuscripts: Savilianus (manuscript S of the present edition), Vratislaviensis (B), and Cizensis (C). Fabricius did not examine the manuscript of the Savile collection himself but obtained readings taken by Io. Frederic Winckler, who had translated the first part of the manuscript into English.¹⁷² It seems, however, that the readings Fabricius obtained did not include the *Adversus musicos*, since the Savile manuscript is never cited for a reading in this treatise.

Fabricius was aware of several other manuscripts that contained the works of Sextus Empiricus, but he considered an examination of the aforesaid three to suffice.¹⁷³ In the prefatory pages of his edition, Fabricius criticizes the inaccuracy of the Hervetus translation; the Latin translation that is included in his edition uses the Hervetus version as a foundation but incorporates many changes.¹⁷⁴

Although Fabricius did not place much trust in the Hervetus translation in general, it did influence the readings of his Greek text. At 152.1, Hervetus added "cibo aut" to

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid., 1:x.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 1:x-xi.

make the phrase read "a cibo aut potu aut calore," making it parallel to the previous phrase, "in fame aut siti aut frigore." Fabricius has, accordingly, added the words βρώματος ἢ πώματος ἢ ἀλέας parallel to ἐπὶ λιμῶ ἢ δόψει ἢ κρύει. Bekker attributes another emendation of Fabricius to the Hervetus text, although Fabricius himself does not cite Hervetus as an authority for the change. At 138.5, the manuscripts exhibit the phrase μέλη καὶ στήσιμα. Hervetus at this point omits the conjunction, rendering the phrase "modi stabiles." Fabricius also construes στήσιμα as a modifier of μέλη rather than treating the two as parallel nouns and emends the phrase to μέλη τὰ στήσιμα.

Fabricius's Latin version has influenced later editors. At 166.9, all of the manuscripts have the word ἰδωκτέρας. Fabricius translates this as "specialiores" (unlike Hervetus, who translates it as "proprias"), understanding ἰδωκτέρας to be a form of εἰδωκτέρας. The editions of Bekker and Mau show the reading εἰδωκτέρας without noting that this is not the form of the word that occurs in the manuscripts. The context of the passage, however, may favor understanding ἰδωκτέρας as "more proper" or "more particular" in contrast to the "common melody" that precedes in the discussion, rather than as "more specific" in contrast to "genus," which is used here as a technical term for a division of the tetrachord.

The edition of Fabricius offers many explanatory annotations and references to parallel passages. These are of considerable interest and are helpful to some extent in illuminating the text, although Fabricius did not have access to Philodemus's *De musica* and fails to mention other important parallel authors, especially Aristotle. Fabricius does, however, refer to authors that are less familiar to modern readers, such as Maximus Tyrius, Symmachus, and Polyaenus. Many of these more obscure references have not been included in the present edition because attention has been devoted primarily to authors that present more relevant parallels.

Bekker (1842)

Immanuel Bekker based his edition of 1842 on four manuscripts: Cizensis (C), Regimontanus, Oxoniensis Savilianus (S), and Vratislaviensis (B). He obtained his readings of the Oxford manuscript from the readings noted by Fabricius and examined the other three himself. As in Fabricius's edition, therefore, the Savile manuscript is never cited for the *Adversus musicos*. Bekker states that in addition to these manu-

scripts, he examined some from Munich, Venice, and Florence, but found nothing in them worth reporting.¹⁷⁵

Bekker suggests many possible emendations, most of which he confines to the critical apparatus. No Latin translation is included in the edition, but Hervetus is often cited as an authority for a reading, a variant reading, or an emendation. Sources of most of the quoted passages are identified, but there are few references to parallel passages in other authors.

The edition included in the Loeb Classical Library, with a translation by R. G. Bury, is based on the edition of Bekker.

Mau (1954)

Jürgen Mau, in his edition of the *Adversus mathematicos*, cites readings of twelve manuscripts, eight of which include the *Adversus musicos*. The codices that include the *Adversus musicos* are Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11 (F), Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45 (B), Parisinus gr. 1964 (P), Parisinus gr. 1963 (P2), Berolinensis Phillippicus gr. 1518, Venetus Marcianus gr. 262 (V), Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (C), and Regimontanus gr. 16 b 12. Of these, he obtained the readings of the B, C, and Regimontanus manuscripts from the edition of Immanuel Bekker (Mau remarks in a footnote that he later inspected C and found Bekker's collation to be accurate).¹⁷⁶

Mau's edition is more authoritative than earlier editions, but it has many emendations that are not necessary. Moreover, some of these emendations are not noted as such, as at 142.1: ὁμοῶς *codd.* ὁμοιος *Mau* and at 166.9: ἰδουκωτέρας *codd.* εἰδουκωτέρας *Mau*. Mau notes sources of quotations and many passages in ancient works that are parallel or similar to the content of the *Adversus musicos*. Most of the passages cited are found in the treatises of Philodemus or other works of Sextus Empiricus.

The Present Edition

The present edition aims to present an authoritative text based primarily on the manuscript sources. A careful review of the manuscripts has been made to determine their

¹⁷⁵Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Sextus Empiricus* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1842), pp. iii-iv.

¹⁷⁶Mau, 3:v.

relative authority, and the text and punctuation that have been adopted are based on this review. Emendations and conjectures of earlier editors and commentators have been considered and have been adopted where they seemed necessary or appropriate. Otherwise, they have been consigned to the critical apparatus, where the reader may apply them to the text at his own discretion. The paragraphing of earlier editions has been reorganized and renumbered according to the sense and structure of the treatise.

The translation appears on pages facing the text. An effort has been made in the translation to make it faithful to the Greek of Sextus Empiricus and, at the same time, readable in English. The various philosophical and technical terms have been rendered as literally as possible. When the same term occurs more than once in the Greek, it has been translated each time with the same English term, unless this is not sensible in the context of a particular passage. The use of particles and conjunctions has been considered in the logical flow of the treatise, and the translation attempts to show stylistic patterns with accuracy and consistency.

The annotations, which appear as footnotes to the English translation, are intended to elucidate the ideas Sextus Empiricus is treating, to point out parallel sources or other notable passages in authors of antiquity that help to clarify his thought, and to direct the reader to modern secondary literature that further explains and discusses the various musical and philosophical concepts. Sextus Empiricus is addressing those who are already educated in the topics treated,¹⁷⁷ and he assumes a background in the music and philosophy of his time. When he presents the claims of the musicians, therefore, it is not his intention to give a complete technical treatment, and the same is true of his allusions to other philosophical points. Much of the commentary is devoted to providing clarification for readers who cannot be assumed to have the specialized background Sextus Empiricus takes for granted.

¹⁷⁷Note Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.7.

CONSPECTUS CODICUM ET NOTARUM

Manuscripts

- F Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.11 (1465), I-F1
 B Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus gr. 45 (15th century [late]),
 PL-WRu
 Me Mertonensis gr. 304 (16th century)
 S Oxoniensis Bodleianus Savilianus gr. 1 (16th century),
 GB-Ob
 Ta Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 158 (B. III. 32) (16th century),
 I-Tn
 E Escorialensis gr. 40 (R. III. 6) (16th century), E-E
 M Monacensis gr. 159 (14th century), D-BRD-Mbs
 M² later hand
 P Parisinus gr. 1964 (15th century), F-Pn
 O Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 21 (1541), I-Rvat
 P4 Parisinus gr. 1966 (16th century), F-Pn
 R Vaticanus Rossianus gr. 979 (15th century), I-Rvat
 U Vaticanus gr. 217 (16th century), I-Rvat
 U² second hand
 U³ hand of Matthaeus Devarius
 Fi Florentinus Laurentianus gr. 85.24 (15th century), I-F1
 P2 Parisinus gr. 1963 (1534), F-Pn
 Ve Venetus Marcianus gr. app. cl. IV/26 (16th century),
 I-Vnm
 P6 Parisinus gr. 2128 (17th century), F-Pn
 Mo Monacensis gr. 79 (16th century), D-BRD-Mbs
 T Taurinensis Athenaei gr. 81 (B. I. 3) (16th century),
 I-Tn
 T² hand of Henri Estienne
 T³ third hand (17th century)
 P7 Parisinus Supplementarius gr. 133 (17th century), F-Pn
 p7² second hand
 V Venetus Marcianus gr. 262 (15th century [end]), I-Vnm
 C Cizensis gr. fol. 70 (1556), D-DDR-ZZs
 Es Escorialensis gr. 136 (T. I. 16) (16th century), E-E
 P3 Parisinus gr. 1965 (16th century), F-Pn
 p3² second hand

- P5 Parisinus gr. 2081 (16th century), F-Pn
P5² second hand
Va Vaticanus gr. 1338 (16th century), I-Rvat
Va² hand of Matthaeus Devarius

Manuscript Families

- b codicis M et familiarum fg consensus
d codicum FiP7 et familiarum hk consensus
f codicum BEFMeSta consensus
g codicum OPP4RU consensus
h codicum MoP2P6Tve consensus
k codicum CEsp3P5Vva consensus
codd. codicum cunctorum consensus

Editions and Other Printed Sources

- Mau Jürgen Mau, ed., "Πρὸς μουσικούς," in *Sexti Empirici opera*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1954-62), 3:163-75.
Bekk. Immanuel Bekker, ed., "Πρὸς μουσικούς," in *Sextus Empiricus* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1842), pp. 748-61.
Bury R. G. Bury, trans., "Against the Musicians," in *Sextus Empiricus in Four Volumes*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933-49), 4:372-405.
Fabr. Io. Albertus Fabricius, ed., "Σέξτου Ἐμπεϊρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς," in *Sexti Empirici opera graece et latine*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Kuehniana, 1841), 2:238-61.
Chouet "Σέξτου Ἐμπεϊρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικούς," in *Sexti Empirici quae extant* (Geneva: Peter and Jacob Chouet, 1621), pp. 127-38.
Herv. Gentianus Hervetus, trans., "Sexti Empirici adversus musicos," in *Sexti Empirici viri longe doctissimi Adversus mathematicos* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569), pp. 107-15.
Heintz Werner Heintz, *Studien zu Sextus Empiricus* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1932).
Shorey Paul Shorey, "Notes on Sextus Empiricus Πρὸς μουσικούς 21," *Classical Philology* 11 (1916): 99.
Wilam. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Coniectanea," in *Index scholarum publice et privatim in Academia Georgia Augusta* (Göttingen: W. F. Kaestner, 1884), p. 13.

Notes

<i>add.</i>	added
<i>ante</i>	before
<i>c.</i>	with
<i>cett.</i>	the rest
<i>ci.</i>	conjectured
<i>condemn.</i>	condemned
<i>corr.</i>	corrected
<i>deest</i>	is lacking in
<i>del.</i>	deleted
<i>dub.</i>	doubtfully
<i>edd.</i>	editions
<i>em.</i>	emended
<i>ex Herv.</i>	from translation of Hervetus
<i>infra</i>	below
<i>in marg.</i>	in the margin
<i>om.</i>	omitted
<i>post</i>	after
<i>pr.</i>	first
<i>sec.</i>	second, following
<i>sup. lin.</i>	above the line
<i>transp.</i>	transposed
<i>ut passim</i>	here and there
<i>var. lect.</i>	variant reading

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΥΣ

1. Ἡ μουσικὴ λέγεται τριχῶς, καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἐπιστήμη Bekk.
 τις περὶ μελωδίας καὶ φθόγγους καὶ ῥυθμοποιίας καὶ τὰ παραπλή- 748
 σια καταγινομένη πράγματα, καθὸ καὶ Ἀριστοξένον τὸν Σπινθάρου
 λέγομεν εἶναι μουσικόν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ ἡ περὶ ὀργανικὴν ἐμπει-
 5 ρίαν, ὥς ὅταν τοὺς μὲν αὐλοὺς καὶ ψαλτηρίους χρωμένους μουσικοὺς

Tit. Πρὸς μουσικοὺς CMoP3P5P7TVVef Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς
 μουσικοὺς EsFiPP2P4Va in marg.U³ Σέξτου [(μουσικοῦ)] Ἐμπειρικοῦ
 πρὸς μουσικοὺς O Πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς RU Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς μουσι-
 κοὺς P6 Περὶ μουσικῆς in marg.M² || 1 Ἡ deest in RU | τριχῶς|
 διχῶς U || 3 καταγινομένη d (καταγινομένη Va) || 4 ἐμπειρίζαν
 codd. (συμπειρίζα U [ἐμπειρίζα em.U³]) ἐμπειρίζα ci. Bekk.||

AGAINST THE MUSICIANS

1. The term "music" is used in three manners:¹ according to one manner, it is a science concerned with melodies, notes, rhythmic compositions, and parallel subjects²--as we say that Aristoxenus,³ the son of Spintharus, is a musician; according to another manner, it is the science concerned with instrumental experience,⁴ as when we name those

¹For definitions of music (μουσική), cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.4; Bacchius *Intro.* 1.1-2; Cleonides *Intro.* 1; and Anon. *Bell.* 12 (Najock 5.1-6) and 29 (Najock 9.1-4).

²The arrangement of the harmonic division of music into the seven parts of genera, intervals, notes, scales, tonoi, modulation, and melic composition is Aristoxenian. See Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.35-38; but cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 1 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5 (W.-I. 7.9-12). In Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13, rhythemics is divided into five parts: chronoi protoi, genera of metric feet, tempo, modulation, and rhythmic composition.

³Aristoxenus was a philosopher and music theorist of the fourth century B.C. and a student of, among others, Aristotle. Although he was a prolific writer--according to the *Suda* he wrote 453 books--all that survive are parts of an *Elements of Harmonics* in three books (probably portions of two treatises on the subject), a portion of his second book on *Rhythmics*, and a number of small fragments. See Louis Laloy, *Aristoxène de Tarente et la musique de l'antiquité* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1904; reprint ed., Genève: Minkoff, 1973); and J. F. Mountford, "Aristoxenus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 118-19.

⁴In Graeco-Roman theory, music is generally divided into two main divisions: theoretical and practical. These broadly correspond to the first two uses of the term "music" that Sextus Empiricus offers here. Cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 1; Anon. *Bell.* 12-14 (Najock 5.1-13) and 29 (Najock 9.1); and

ὀνομάζομεν, τὰς δὲ φαλτηρίας μουσικὰς. ἀλλὰ κυρίως κατ' αὐτὰ
τὰ σημαινόμενα καὶ παρὰ πολλοὺς λέγεται μουσική.

1 ὀνομάζομεν CP4U | φαλτηρίας 0 in marg. T²f | post ἀλλὰ ci.
γὰρ Bekk. | post κυρίως ci. μὲν Bekk. || 1-2 κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ) κατὰ
ταῦτα τὰ ci. U³ Bekk. || 2 τὰ deest in EsU | παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ci. Bekk. ||

who use auloi⁵ and psalteries⁶ musicians and female harpers musicians. Properly and among the many, "music" is used in accord with these very senses.

Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5. The discussion in Aristides Quintilianus outlines the whole of music as follows:

Theoretical	Natural	[natural arithmetic
	Technical	[harmonic rhythmic metric
Practical	Application	[melic composition rhythmic composition poesy
	Expression	[instrumental odic theatric

(see *Aristides Quintilianus on Music in Three Books*, trans., with Introduction, Commentary, and Annotations by Thomas J. Mathiesen [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983], p. 17). On science and art in antiquity, see René Schaerer, *Ἐπιστήμη et τέχνη: Étude sur les notions de connaissance et d'art d'Homère à Platon* (Macon: Protat Frères, 1930).

⁵The aulos, the principal wind instrument of Greece in antiquity, consisted mainly of a vertical pipe whose sound was initiated by a double or single reed. Cf. Aristotle *Aud.* (801b33-39, 802a2) and Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13 (1096A) and *De mus.* 36 (1144D-E). For a modern discussion, see Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London: Methuen, 1939; reprint ed., Groningen: Bouma, 1970); Albert A. Howard, "The Αὔλος or Tibia," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 4 (1893): 1-160; idem, "The Mouthpiece of the Αὔλος," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 10 (1899): 19; Helmut Huchzermeyer, *Aulos and Kithara in der griechischen Musik bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit (nach den literarischen Quellen)* (Emsdetten: H. und J. Lechte, 1931); Heinz Becker, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterlichen Rohrblattinstrumente* (Hamburg: Hans Sikorski, 1966); and Solon Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopaedia* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1978), pp. 42-46.

⁶The psaltery was a stringed instrument of the zither family, played without a plectrum. Cf. Aristotle *Prob.* 19.23 (919b12-13); Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (183C) and 14 (636F); Theophrastus *HP* 5.7.6; and Pollux *Onom.* 4.59. See also Michaelides, pp. 276-77.

2. Καταχρηστικώτερον δὲ ἐνύοτε προσαγορεύειν εἰώθαμεν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι καὶ τὴν ἐν τινι πράγματι κατορθώσιν. οὕτω γοῦν μεμουςωμένον τι ἔργον φαμέν, κἂν ζωγραφίας μέρος ὑπάρχη, καὶ μεμουςῶσθαι τὸν ἐν τούτῳ κατορθώσαντα ζωγράφον.

5 3. Ἄλλα δὴ κατὰ τοσοῦτους τρόπους νοουμένης τῆς μουσικῆς, πρόκειται νῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀντίρρῃσιν οὐ μὰ Δία πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ ἢ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον νοουμένην σημαίνόμενον· αὕτη γὰρ καὶ ἐντελεστάτη παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας μουσικὰς δοκεῖ καθεστηκέναι.

4. Τῆς δὲ ἀντιρρήσεως, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ γραμματικῆς, διττόν
10 ἐστὶ || τὸ εἶδος. οἱ μὲν οὖν δογματικώτερον ἐπεχειρήσαν διδάσκειν

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1 δὲ *deest* in E || 3 ὑπάρχει O (*corr. sup. lin.*) || 4 τὸν) τὴν Va || 5 τρόπους *deest* in P3 (*add. in marg. P3*²) || 6 πρόκειται P6 || ποιῆσαι P6 || 7 σημαυνομένην *ante corr. P6* || 8 ἐντεσάτη RU (*corr. sup. lin. U*³) | ἄλλας] αὔλλας VaP5 (*corr. P5*²) ἄλλα Es || 9 διττόν] διπλόν BF *in marg. P7*² et T² διπλόν γ διπλοῦν vel διττόν *in marg. U*³ γράφεται διπλόν T^M (*vide p. 97 supra*) διπλοῦν vel διττόν *in marg. Va*² εἰπεῖν d || 9-10 διττόν ἐστὶ τὸ *deest* in P6 || 10 οἱ) ὁ T | γραμμα[δογμα *sup. lin.*]τικώτερον VC ||

2. Sometimes, we are accustomed to refer--rather improperly--with the same word to successful accomplishment in some subject. So, we say that something is musical⁷ even if it exists as a part of a painting and that the painter accomplished in this is musical.⁸

3. But even though music is conceived in so many manners, it is now proposed to make a refutation, by Zeus, not against any other music than that conceived in accord with the first sense. For this music, in comparison with the other senses of music, seems to have been established as most complete.⁹

4. The type of refutation, just as in the case of grammar, is twofold.¹⁰ Some undertook to teach rather dogmatically¹¹

⁷On the use of the verb "to be made musical," cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 77.25) and Plutarch *Adversus Colotem* (1121F) and *Per.* 5.3 (154E).

⁸On the painting analogy, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 56.6-12) and 3.8 (W.-I. 105-26-106.8). Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.1 (W.-I. 2.18-20) states that it is a function of music to organize harmoniously all things that have a nature. On the use of musical principles to judge things not musical in the proper sense, note Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340a14-18) and Plutarch *De mus.* 41 (1146A-B). See also Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 3 (657D), where μουσικωτάτη (most musical) is used of a two-to-three ratio of water mixed with wine. Music in its broad sense includes all the arts and sciences over which the Muses preside. Thus, the term "musical" (μουσικός) could be used to refer to someone educated generally, whereas "unmusical" (ἄμουσος) was used of one uneducated; cf. Aristophanes *V.* 1074, 1244 and *Eg.* 191-93; Aelian *VH* 4.15; and the scholiast on Aristophanes *Eg.* 188, where "music" (μουσική) is equated with general culture (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία). Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.21 attributes to the Greeks a proverb that the uneducated are far from the Muses and the Graces.

⁹The music that occupied the philosophers and was incorporated into the theory of paideia was a science rather than a practical art. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 7.12 (530D-531C) and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.1, 2.1, 3.27.

¹⁰It is unclear how this twofold division is extracted from the book against the grammarians (Sextus Empiricus *Adversus mathematicos* [hereafter *M.*] 1).

¹¹E.g., the Cynics in Diogenes Laertius 6.104; Epicurus in Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.1-5; and Philodemus, to sections of whose *De musica* a significant portion of the first part of the *Adversus musicos* corresponds. See Introduction, pp. 24-26.

ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μάθημα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μουσική, ἀλλὰ
 βλαπτικὸν μᾶλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δείκνυσθαι ἔκ τε τοῦ διαβάλλεσθαι
 τὰ πρὸς τῶν μουσικῶν λεγόμενα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦδς προηγουμένου
 λόγους ἀνασκευῆς ἀξιουῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀπορητικώτερον πάσης ἀπο-
 5 στάντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιρρήσεως ἐν τῷ σαλεύειν τὰς ἀρχικὰς
 ὑποθέσεις τῶν μουσικῶν ῥήθησαν καὶ τὴν ὀλὴν ἀνηρῆσθαι μουσικὴν.

5. Ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν τι τῆς διδασκαλίας
 χρεωκοπεῖν, τὸν ἐκατέρου δόγματος ἢ πράγματος χαρακτῆρα κεφα-
 λαιωδέστερον ἐφοδεύομεν, μήτε ἐν τοῖς παρέλκουσιν ὑπερεκπί-
 10 πτοντες εἰς μακρὰς διεξόδους μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαϊοτέροις ὑστερ-
 οῦντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἔκθεσιν, ἀλλὰ μέσῃ καὶ μεμετρη-
 μένῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ποιοῦμενοι τὴν διδασκαλίαν.

1 εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μουσική Es || 3 τὸν μουσικὸν CP3P5Vva (corr. in
 marg. et sup. lin.Va²) τὴν μουσικὴν Es || 6 μουσικῶν P3 (corr.
 sup. lin.P3²) | ἀνηρῆσθαι] ἀνηρῆ FBM ἀρνεῖσθαι P4 || 7 τῆς] τε
 P5 (corr. sup. lin.P5²) περὶ P3 || 8 χρεωσκοπεῖν R | δόγματος ἢ
 πράγματος] τάγματος Heintz || 9 ἐφοδεύωμεν EMeP4STa || 9-10 τοῖς
 παρέλκουσιν...διεξόδους μήτε ἐν *deest in Ta* | ὑπερεκπίπτοντες
 MoT (corr. in marg.T³) || 11 ἔκθεσιν, ἀλλὰ] ἔκθεσιν ἀλλὰ κυρίως
 κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα καὶ παρὰ πολλοὺς λέγεται μουσική. ἀλλὰ
 EsP6 | μέσῃ Es | μετρημένην Ta (corr. sup. lin.)||

that music is not a necessary subject of learning¹² for good fortune¹³ but is a harmful one rather, and they undertook to show this both by bringing into discredit things stated by the musicians and by claiming their leading arguments to be worthy of denial. Others, standing aloof in a more questioning fashion¹⁴ from every such refutation, in shaking the principal suppositions of the musicians thought to abolish the whole of music.

5. For this reason, we too, so as not to seem to minimize anything of the elucidation, will methodically discuss rather systematically the character of each doctrine or subject,¹⁵ neither going beyond the bounds into long expositions on extraneous matters nor falling short with respect to the display of pressing matters in the more necessary areas, but making the elucidation as moderate and measured as possible.

¹²On music not being a necessary subject of learning, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 109.29-37) and Diogenes the Cynic in Diogenes Laertius 6.73. Note Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.30 where he points out that music has continued to be studied from remote antiquity to his day by all except those who despise a legitimate subject of study.

¹³Εὐδαιμονία (good fortune) is important in the argument because it was the aim of some of the major philosophical schools that Sextus Empiricus is undertaking to refute throughout his writings. In connection with εὐδαιμονία, Sextus Empiricus mentions specifically the Epicurean, Stoic, and Peripatetic philosophies in *M.* 11.173ff. (cf. *P.* 3.172-75). On Peripatetic views, see Aristotle, *EN* 10.6 (1176a31); on the Stoics, see Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.6 (Wachsmuth 2:77.16-27); and on the Epicureans, see Epiphanius 1 (in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 588.1-3).

¹⁴On dogmatic vs. practical arguments, note Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.62. The dogmatic are those demonstrated in this treatise in sections 6-27, the practical in sections 28-50. In this first part (sections 6-27), Sextus Empiricus is using arguments of dogmatists to counter arguments of other dogmatists, which corresponds to the first of the five modes of Agrippa or the second of the ten of Aenesidemus that lead to suspension of judgment. See Introduction, pp. 12, 15.

¹⁵For the difference between doctrine (δόγμα) and subject (πράγμα), see Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.210. A doctrine is a dogmatic teaching; a subject is an observation based on practical experience.

6. Τάξει δὲ ἀρχέτω πρῶτον τὰ ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰωθότα θρυλεῖσθαι. εἴπερ τοῦνυν, φασί, φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδεχόμεθα σωφρονίζουσιν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη καταστέλλουσιν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀποδεχόμεθα τὴν μουσικὴν, 5 ὅτι οὐ βιαστικώτερον ἐπιτάττουσα ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ μετὰ θελγούσης τινὸς πειθοῦς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων περιγίνεται ὧν περ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία.

1 ἀρχέτω] ἀρχή τῷ O (*corr. in marg.*) || 1-2 εἰωθότα ante παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς d || 2 θρυλλεῖσθαι EP4 *sup. lin.* U³d || 3 σωφρονίζουσιν Es | ἀνθρωπίνων O (*corr. in marg.*) || 3-4 σωφρονίζουσιν τὸν...μᾶλλον ἀποδεχόμεθα *deest in Va* || 4 πάθη καταστέλλουσιν] παθήματα στέλλουσιν MoT (*corr. in marg.* T²) | κατεστέλλουσιν RU | ἀποδεχόμεθα ci. Bekk. || 5 ὅτι om.d (*add. in marg.* P7² et T²) | ἐπιτάττουσαν Es | θελούσης k || 6 ὧν περ] ὧν πως P3 ||

6. First in order, let us begin with the things customarily babbled about music by the many. Now if, they say, we accept philosophy since it gives discretion¹⁶ to human life and restrains¹⁷ the spiritual passions,¹⁸ by much more do we accept music because it enjoins us not too violently, but with a certain enchanting persuasiveness¹⁹ prevails over the same effects as does philosophy.²⁰

¹⁶Discretion (σωφροσύνη) is one of the virtues and represents an ordering especially of the epithymetic (appetitive) part of the soul (see n. 91 *infra*). Note Plato *Rep.* 4.8 (430E), where discretion is defined as a certain ordering and continence of certain pleasures and desires; cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 14 (237E). For a survey of the term, see F. E. Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms: A Historical Lexicon* (New York: New York University Press, 1967), pp. 179-80; and Helen F. North, "Temperance (sophrosyne) and the Canon of the Cardinal Virtues," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, 5 vols., ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 4:365-78.

¹⁷Cf. Plato *Phdr.* 34-38 (253C-257B), where an analogy is drawn between the rational part of the soul and the chariot driver trying to control two horses, which represent the thymic (spirited) and epithymetic (appetitive) parts of the soul--both of which are irrational.

¹⁸The spiritual passions (ψυχικά πάθη) are irrational affects of the soul. The passions are often grouped into four general categories: pleasure, pain, fear, and desire. See Andronicus in *SVF* 3:391 (Arnim 3:95.14-22); Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.7.10 (Wachsmuth 2:88-92); and Peters, pp. 152-55.

¹⁹On the power of music to arouse or soften the passions, cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31. On music's ability to gradually lead one into a correct condition, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.5 (W.-I. 58.21-23); and on the attempt of the ancients to restrain the motions of the soul by means of hearing and vision, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 59.8-13).

²⁰Philosophy prevails over the rational part of the soul, music over the irrational. See, for example, Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.3 and Plutarch *De virtute morali* 3 (441D-E). The idea of a close relationship between music and philosophy is attacked in Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 19.32.10 and 92.23.37). On the affects of music, note Bruno Meinecke, "Music and Medicine in Classical Antiquity," in *Music and Medicine*, ed. Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (New York: H. Schuman, 1948), pp. 47-95.

7. Ὁ γοῦν Πυθαγόρας μειράκια ὑπὸ μέθης ἐκβεβακχευμένα
ποτὲ θεασάμενος ὥς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνηδῶτων διαφέρειν, παρήνευσε
τῷ συνεπικωμάζοντι τούτοις αὐλητῇ τὸ σπονδεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπαυλῆσαι
μέλος· τοῦ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιήσαντος οὕτως αἰφνυδίον μετα-
5 βαλεῖν σωφρονισθέντας ὥς εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔνηφον.

8. Οἷ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ διαβόητοι
Σπαρτιᾶται μουσικῆς ἀεὶ ποτε στρατηγούσης αὐτῶν ἐπολέμουν. καὶ
οἱ ταῖς Σόλωνος χρώμενοι παραινέσεσι πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ λῦραν
παρε||τάσσοντο, ἔνρυθμον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἐνόπλιον κίνησιν.

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1 μειράκια P3 | ἐκβακχευμένα P6 ἐκβεβακχευμένα ante corr.
Mo || 2 [[ποθε]] πότε S | μηδὲν] μὴ δὲ in marg.T²f | παρήνευσαν T
(corr. sup. lin.T²) || 3 τῷ] τε Es | αὐτῆς P3 | ἐπ[[αυλησθαι]]-
αυλῆσαι P6 ἐπαλῆσαι Va (corr. sup. lin.Va²) || 4 τοῦ δὲ τὸ προσ-
ταχθὲν ποιήσαντος deest in E | ποιήσαντος[ες sup. lin., del.]
P7 | μεταβαλλεῖν CESFiMoP5P6P7TVVaVeE || 5 σωφρονισθέντας MeS
σωφρονησθέντας P3 || 6 οἱ] εἰ Es | ἀνδρείᾳ b ἀνδρίᾳ d ut pas-
sim || 8 παραινέσεσι P6 || 9 εὔρυθμον d (corr. in marg.T²) ἐν
ῥυθμὸν U (εὔρυθμον in marg.U³) | ἐνοκλῖαν T (corr. sup. lin.T²)||

7. Pythagoras,²¹ when he once observed how lads who had been filled with Bacchic frenzy by alcoholic drink differed not at all from madmen, exhorted the aulete who was joining them in the carousal to play his aulos for them in the spondaic²² melos.²³ When he thus did what was ordered, they suddenly changed and were given discretion as if they had been sober²⁴ even at the beginning.

8. The Spartans, leaders of Hellas and famous for their manly spirit, would always do battle with music commanding them.²⁵ And those who were subject to the exhortations of Solon²⁶ drew up in battle order to the aulos and lyre, making the martial movement rhythmic.²⁷

²¹For the story about Pythagoras, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 58.16-31) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.32. This story became very popular and was embellished in the Middle Ages. For later versions of the story, see, for example, Boethius *Mus.* 1.1; Iamblichus *VP* 112; and Regino of Prüm *De harmonica institutione* 6. The same story is told also of Damon in Galen *De placitis Hippocrates et Platonis* 5 (Kuehn 5:473) and in Martianus Capella 9.926 (Willis 355.13-16).

²²This adjective is derived from the Greek word for libation and indicates a melos appropriate for religious occasions--solemn in character and dominated rhythmically by long time values. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.15.

²³In the specific sense, melos denotes the melodic element of music; in its broader sense, it comprises rhythm, melody, and diction (cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.12; Anon. *Bell.* 29 [Najock 9.4-6]; and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.22).

²⁴For music as an antidote to wine (where the doctrine is attributed to Aristoxenus), see Plutarch *De mus.* 43 (1146F).

²⁵Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 26 (1140C), *Apophthegmata Laconica* 36 (210F-211A), and *Instituta Laconica* (238B); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.14; Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 27.22-28.13); Aristotle *Mu.* 6 (399b2-10); and Polybius 4.20.6.

²⁶Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Coniectanea," in *Index scholarum publice et privatim in Academia Georgia Augusta* (Göttingen: W. F. Kaestner, 1884), p. 13, proposes that those who followed the exhortations of Solon were Lydians (not Athenians); cf. Athenaeus *Deip.* 12 (517A) and 14 (627D) and Herodotus 1.17. See also Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 87.20.16-21), where Solon is giving counsel by means of an elegy--a musical-poetic form.

²⁷Pyrrhic rhythms and meters (characterized by short time values) were used in war dances and battles. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.15 (W.-I. 35.22-23), 2.6 (W.-I.

9. Καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ σωφρονίζει μὲν τοὺς ἄφρονας ἢ μουσική, εἰς ἀνδρεῖαν δὲ προτρέπει τοὺς δειλοτέρους, οὕτω καὶ παρηγορεῖ τοὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκκαίονμένους. ὁρῶμεν γοῦν ὡς καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ μνηίων Ἀχιλλεύς καταλαμβάνεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαποσταλέντων

5 πρεσβευτῶν

φρένα τερπόμενος φόρμιγγι λιγυρῇ
καλῇ δαίδαλῃ· ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν.
τὴν ἔλετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων, πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας.
τῇ δ' ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν,

10 ὡς ἂν σαφῶς γινώσκων τὴν μουσικὴν πραγματεῖαν μάλιστα δυναμένην περιγύνεσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν διαθέσεως.

10. Καὶ μὴν δι' ἔθους ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοις ἥρωσιν, εἴ ποτε ἀποδημοῦεν καὶ μακρὸν πλοῦν στέλλοιντο, ὡς πιστοτάτους φύλακας καὶ σωφρονιστῆρας τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς μουσικοὺς.

15 Κλυταιμνήστρα γέ τοι παρὴν αἰοδός, ᾧ πολλὰ ἐπέτελλεν Ἀγαμέμνων περὶ τῆς κατὰ ταύτην σωφοσύνης. ἀλλ' ὁ Αἰγισθος πανοῦργος ὦν αὐτίκα τὸν αἰοδὸν τοῦτον

ἄγων εἰς νῆσον ἐρήμην

κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῦσιν ἔλῳρ καὶ κῦρμα γενέσθαι·

20 εἴθ' οὕτως ἀφύλακτον λαβὼν τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν διέφθειρε προτρεφάμενος αὐτὴν ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος.

1 τοὺς] τοὺς Va | ἄφρονας ante corr.P3 || 2 προτρέπει MeSta || 3 ὡς deest in CP2 (add. sup. lin.P2) | ὁ deest in P3P4P6 (add. ante καὶ sup. lin.P4) | τῷ om.P7 || 4 μνηίων BF μνηίων CESFiP2 P3P6P7Vh ante corr.P5 || 5 πρεσβευτῶν} πρεσβευτῶν τῶν Va || 6 τερπόμενος MoT (corr. in marg.T²) || 7 καλῇ Es καλῇ δὲ δαίλῃ BEFMeSP7 (corr. sup. lin.P7) | δαίδαλαζῇ P2 (corr. sup. lin.) | ἐπὶ] ἐπεὶ U | ἀργυρον εζυγὸν R || 8 τὴν ἔλετ'] τὴν αἴας ἔλετ' g [αἴας del.U³] τὴν αἴρεσιν λετ' BF | ἐνάρων} ἐνάρχη Es (corr. in marg.) | ὀλέσας h (corr. sup. lin.T²) || 12 ἥρωσιν sup. lin. F ἔρωσιν P4 || 13 ἀποδημοῦεν Bekk. ἀποδημῶθι CP5 (c. εν sup. lin. CP5²) ἀποδημῶ ἐνθι Va ἀποδημῶεν cett. | στέλλοιτο ER στέλλοντο Es || 14 αὐτῶν codd. αὐτῶν Bekk. Mau suarum Herv. || 15 Κλυταιμνήστρας P4 Κλυτεμνήστρα P6 | ᾧ ἐν O (corr. in marg.) ὡς Ta | ἐπέτελλεσεν Es || 20 τὴν οὐσίαν Κλυταιμνήστραν ante corr.Es Κλυτέμνεστραν P6 ||

9. Just as music gives discretion to those who are frantic and turns the more cowardly toward a manly spirit,²⁸ so also it soothes those who are inflamed by anger.²⁹ We see how Achilles, angry, according to the poet, is found by the ambassadors who were sent forth,

delighting his heart in a lyre, clear-sounding,
splendid and carefully wrought, with a bridge of silver
upon it
which he won out of the spoils when he ruined Eetion's
city.

With this he was pleasuring his heart,³⁰
as if clearly knowing that the musical pursuit is best able to prevail over his disposition.

10. Indeed, it was also customary for the other heroes--if they ever were away from home and set out on a long voyage--to leave behind musicians as the most faithful guardians and teachers of discretion to their wives. There was present with Clytemnestra a bard to whom Agamemnon gave many commands concerning her discreet conduct.³¹ But Aegisthus, being a rogue, immediately

took the singer and left him
on a desert island for the birds of prey to spoil and
feed on.³²

Then Aegisthus, taking Clytemnestra thus unguarded, seduced her, after turning her to appropriate the sovereignty of Agamemnon.

62.2-5), and 2.15 (W.-I. 82.20); and Plato *Leges* 7 (815A-B).

²⁸Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 55.77.15-17). Manly spirit (*ἀνδρεία*), one of the virtues, represents a proper ordering of the thymic (spirited) part of the soul (see n. 91 *infra*).

²⁹Cf. Aelian *VH* 14.23; Seneca *De ira* 3.9.2; and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 33.27.8-13).

³⁰Homer *Il.* 9.186-89 (translation by Richmond Lattimore); this quote appears in a comparable context in Plutarch *De mus.* 40 (1145E).

³¹Cf. Homer *Od.* 3.267-68 and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 20.23-27).

³²Homer *Od.* 3.270-71 (translation by Richmond Lattimore).

11. Οὗ τε μέγα δυνηθέντες ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ Πλάτων, τὸν σοφὸν ὁμοῖόν φασιν εἶναι τῷ μουσικῷ, τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρμιοσμένην ἔχοντα. καθὼ καὶ Σωκράτης καίπερ βαθυγῆρως ἤδη γεγονῶς οὐκ ἤδεῖτο πρὸς Λάμπωνα τὸν κιθαριστὴν φοιτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ
5 τούτῳ ὄνειδίσαντα λέγειν ὅτι κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ὀφειμαθῆ μάλλον || ἢ ἀμαθῆ διαβάλλεσθαι.

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12. Οὐ χρὴ μέντοι, φασίν, ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν ἐπιτρέπτου καὶ κατεαγυίας μουσικῆς τὴν παλαιὰν διασύρειν, ὅτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι

1 μέγα] μὲν γὰρ Va | φιλοφύα P3 || 2 φησὶν P2 || 3 βαθυγῆρως RU (corr. sup. lin. U³) || 4 ἔδεῖτο E | κιθαριστὴν C | φοιτῶν Va || 5 ἔλεγεν ci. Bekk. | κρεῖττον Va || 6 ἀμαθῆ] μάθη P7 (corr. sup. lin.) | διδιαβάλλεσθαι VaP5 (corr. P5²) || 7 χρῆ] χρῆν M | νῦν deest in P7 (add. in marg.) νοῦν Va ||

11. Those who have great ability in philosophy, like Plato, say that the wise man is similar to the musician, since he has his soul organized by harmonia.³³ Accordingly, Socrates,³⁴ although he had already come to great old age, was not ashamed to resort to Lampon³⁵ the kitharist, and to one who reproached him for this, said that it is better to be brought into discredit for being late-learned than unlearned.

12. They say that one must not, of course, disparage the ancient music on the basis of the disreputable and enervating music of the present,³⁶ since even the Athenians, who gave much

³³On the soul being organized by harmonia, cf. Plato *Phd.* 85E; *Ti.* 37A and 47C-D; *Rep.* 3.17 (410E), 4.17 (443D-E), and 8.9 (554E); Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.17 (W.-I. 86.20) and 3.24 (W.-I. 125.29-126.27); Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340b18-19) and *De anima* 1.4 (407b30-32); Sextus Empiricus *M.* 4.6; and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 31.23.1-6; 32.26.9-12). The word "harmonia" derives from the Greek verb ἀρμόζω, which means to fit or bind together, and harmonia comes to indicate the state of unlike things brought into an orderly arrangement (see Aristotle *De anima* 1 [407b] and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12). In a strictly musical context, "harmonia" may mean an instrumental tuning, a musical scale, the interval of the octave, a genus of the fourth, or the melodic element of music. When applied to the soul, the term denotes that the parts of the soul--rational, thymic (spirited), and epithymetic (appetitive)--are properly proportioned one to another. See Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Problems of Terminology in Ancient Greek Theory: 'APMONIA,'" in *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman*, ed. Burton Karson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), pp. 3-17; and Edward A. Lippman, "Hellenic Conceptions of Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963): 3-35.

³⁴On this story about Socrates, cf. Plato *Euthd.* 272 B-C; Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.13; and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 94.31-40).

³⁵No musician in antiquity by the name of Lampon is known. There is, however, a musician by the name of Lamprus mentioned in Plato *Menex.* (236A) and Athenaeus *Deip.* 1 (20F), 2 (44D), and 11 (507A). A diviner and oracle-monger named Lampon who lived in the time of Socrates is attested in Plutarch *Per.* 6.2 (154A) and Aristophanes *Aves* 521 (see also the scholiast on Aristophanes *Aves* 521 and 988). Cf. Plato *Menex.* 235E-236A and Cicero *Fam.* 9.22, where Connus, son of Metrobius, is named as Socrates's music teacher.

³⁶On the newer music, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 16. 1-36; 80.25) and Aristophanes *Nubes* 970-72. On the music of the

πολλὴν πρόνοιαν σωφροσύνης ποιούμενοι καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς τε μουσικῆς κατεληφότες ὥς ἀναγκαιότατον αὐτὴν μάθημα τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παρεδίδουσιν. καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητής, λέγων

5 λέξω τοῖνυν βῖον ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρεῖχον.

πρότερον γὰρ ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύσαντος μηδέν' ἀκοῦσαι, εἴτα βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς κλισίῳ.

ὁθεν εἰ καὶ κεκλασμένους τισὶ μέλεσι νῦν καὶ γυναικώδεσι ῥυθμοῖς θηλύνει τὸν νοῦν ἢ μουσική, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν

10 καὶ ἑπινόητον μουσικὴν.

1 τε om. EFIP3U γε CESP5P7VVah || 2 ἀναγκαῖοτάτην U | μάθημα τοῖς] μαθητοῖς P3 | ἐγγόνους EMeSTa ἐγκόνοις BFP4 || 3 παρεδίδουσιν MoT (corr. sup. lin.T²) || 5 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν transp. sec. Athenaeus Bekk. Mau | ἐγὼ] ἐγὼν P6 || 6 φωνὴν deest in E | γρύσαντας VaP5 (corr. sup. lin.P5²) γρύξαντος P2U² vel U³ γρύσαν O | μηδέν' | μὴ δὲ T (corr. sup. lin.T²) | μηδέν' ἀκοῦσαι] μηδ' ἐνακοῦσαι P6 || 7 ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς] ταῖς συνοδοῖς P6 ταῖς συνοδοῖς MoT | ἐς] εἰς b | ἐς κλισίῳ] εὐκλισίῳ Va κλισίῳ ante corr. P4 || 8 κεκλασμένοι P4 κεκλασμένας P7 (corr. in marg.) ||

forethought to discreet conduct and also comprehended the dignity of music, handed this down to their descendants as a most necessary subject of learning.³⁷ A witness of this is the poet of the old comedy, who says

I will tell, therefore, of the life that I originally provided to mortals;

For it was necessary, first, that no one hear the voice of a muttering child;

Next, that one proceed in an orderly manner on the way to the place of the kitharist.³⁸

For this reason, even if the music of today weakens the mind with certain fractured mele³⁹ and effeminate rhythms,⁴⁰ this has nothing to do with the ancient and manly music.

ancients as compared with later corruptions, see Plato *Leges* 2 (669B-D) and 3 (700A-E) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.31. Themistius *Or.* 33 (Dindorf 440) relates how Aristoxenus rejected the effeminate music of his own day, preferring the more manly music of the ancients. On the breakdown of the ancient style, see the discussion in Isobel Henderson, "Ancient Greek Music," in *Ancient and Oriental Music*, ed. Egon Wellesz, New Oxford History of Music, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 393-98; and Walther Vetter, "Griechenland," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5 (1956): 859-62.

³⁷On music being handed down as a subject of education, cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 27 (1140D). Education in ancient Athens was centered around music and gymnastics; note Plato *Rep.* 3.17-18 and see Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948), pp. 74-86; and François Lasserre, "L'Éducation musicale dans la Grèce antique," in *Plutarque de la musique, texte, traduction, and commentaire* (Olten, Lausanne: URS Graf-Verlag, 1954), pp. 11-95.

³⁸The first line of this quote is from Telecleides fragment 1 (Kock). It is found in Athenaeus *Deip.* 6 (268B) where it is rendered λέξω τοῦνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῦσι παρεῖχον. Cf. Aristophanes *Nubes* 961: λέξω τοῦνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς δύνειτο. The other two lines are from Aristophanes *Nubes* 963-64, which appear in editions of Aristophanes as follows: πρῶτον μὲν ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύξαντος μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι· εἴτα βαδύζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς κλισίᾳ τοῦ.

³⁹On the term "fractured mele," cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 21 (1138C). "Mele" is the plural of "melos."

⁴⁰On the characters of various rhythms, see Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.15.

13. Εἴπερ τε ἡ ποιητικὴ βιωφελὴς ἐστὶ, ταύτην δὲ φαίνεται
 κοσμεῖν ἡ μουσικὴ μερίζουσα καὶ ἐπὶ ᾧ παρέχουσα, χρειώδης
 γενήσεται ἡ μουσική. ἀμέλει γέ τοι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ μελοποιοῦ
 5 τως δὲ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς μέλη καὶ στάσιμα, φυσικόν
 τινα ἐπέχοντα λόγον, ὅποῦδ' ἐστὶ τὰ οὕτω λεγόμενα·
 γὰρ αὖ μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ
 ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,
 10 ἡ δ' ὕγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτιάς
 παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνατούς,
 τίκτει δὲ βορὰν φύλα τε θηρῶν,
 ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδύκως
 μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

1 ἡ] οἱ CP5VVa | φένηται [φρένηται ante corr.] E || 2 κοσμεῖν] κοσμεύουσα Es | μερίζουσα *codd.* μελύζουσα ci. in marg. U³ Fabr. | ἐπὶ ᾧ Es | παρέχουσα ἐπάδειν χρειώδεις Va (corr. Va²) || 3 ἀμέλει P5Va | καὶ *deest in b* | ποιη[τικῇ]ταὶ C || 4 λέγοντα P6 | [[τῶ]] τὸ P6 | πάλαι] παλαιὸν c. var. lect. in marg. πάλαι P4 | πρὸς *deest in O* | ἦδετο P6 || 5 καὶ (sec.)] τὰ Fabr. || 6 ἀπέχοντα C || 8 γεννήτωρ P3 γενέτωρ P6 || 9 ἦδου γροβόλους γόνας νοτιάς Va | ὕγροβόλους B ὀγροβόλους MeStaE ὕγρο, βόλους R | νοτιάς *deest in P3 (add. sup. lin. P3²)* νοτιαῖας O || 10 παραδεξαμένη T παραδεξάμενοι O || 11 δὲ *deest in d (add. in marg. p7² et T²)* | βορρὰν ante corr. P2 || 12 ἀδύκων P4 || 13 πάντων *deest in M* | πάντων μήτηρ *transp. P4* ||

13. If poetics is indeed useful for life and music seems to adorn this by arranging it into divisions and making it fit for singing, music will be needful.⁴¹ Of course, the poets too are called makers of melos,⁴² and the epics of Homer in ancient times were sung to the lyre.⁴³ In like manner are the mele and the stasima⁴⁴ by the tragedians, which contain a natural ratio,⁴⁵ such as the stasima so spoken:

Greatest Earth and divine Ether,
He is the begetter of men and gods;
And she, while receiving water-bearing
Drops of moisture, bears mortals;
She bears food and races of beasts;
Wherefore not unjustly is she esteemed
As the mother of all.⁴⁶

⁴¹On the relationship between music and poetics, note Aristotle *Po.* 1.4-12. Poetics as a whole includes musical accompaniment, though some specific forms may be without the melodic element. See Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10 and 1.10.29; and cf. Iohannes Tzetzes *Scholia Aristophanis Pluti* at v. 11 (Koster 4: 11.12-14b), where music is said to comprise all of the logical, poetic, and theatrical arts. See also Carnes Lord, *Education and Culture in the Political Thought of Aristotle* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 89-92; and Hermann Koller, *Musik und Dichtung im alten Griechenland* (Bern, München: Francke, 1963). On the role of music in tragedy, see Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); and Vetter, "Griechenland," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5 (1956): 856-59.

⁴²E.g., in Athenaeus *Deip.* 1 (3C) and Plato *Prt.* 326A.

⁴³Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 3 (1132C); Athenaeus *Deip.* 14 (638A); and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.10.

⁴⁴On stasimon, see Aristotle *Po.* 12 (1452b23): "a melos of the chorus that is without anapests and trochees"; the *Suda* (Adler 4:425.20); and the scholiast on Aristophanes *Ranae* 1281: "a species of melos, which the choral dancers sing while standing."

⁴⁵That is, a natural relationship between the text and the music that would accompany it.

⁴⁶Euripides fragment 839 (Nauck).

14. Καθόλου γὰρ οὐ μόνον χαιρόντων ἐστὶν ἄκουσμα, ἀλλ' ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ εὐχαίαις καὶ θεῶν θυσίαις ἡ μουσικὴ· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ζῆλον τὴν διάνοιαν || προτρέπεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ λυπουμένων παρηγόρημα· ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς κενθοῦσιν αὐλοῖ μελῶ-
5 δοῦσιν οἱ τὴν λύπην αὐτῶν ἐπικουφίζοντες.

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15. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς· λέγεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ μὲν πρῶτον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ προχειροῦ διδόμενον τὸ φύσει τῶν μελῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι διεγερτικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δὲ κατασταλτικὰ. παρὰ γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν τὸ τοιοῦτο γίνεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τῆς βροντῆς
10 κτύπος, καθά φασιν Ἐπικουρέων παῖδες, οὐ θεοῦ τινος ἐπιφάνειαν σημαίνει ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ δεισιδαίμοσι τοιοῦτος εἶναι δοξάζεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων σωματίων ἐπ' ἰσῆς ἀλλήλοις

2 εὐχαίαις *codd.* εὐχαῖς *ci. Wilam. Mau* || 3 τὸν *deest in O* (*add. sup. lin.*) | προτρέπεσθαι *Es* προτρέπτει *S* || 4 λειπουμένων *P6* | παρήγομα *P6* | αὐλοῖ αὐλοῦς *P4* αὐλοῖς *Heintz Mau* αὐλῷ *Bury* || 5 οἱ *del. Wilam.* | ἐπικουφίζοντες *U* || 6 μὲν ὑπὲρ...πρὸς ταῦτα *rep.Va* | πρὸς) πρὸ *R* || 8 εἶνα *Es* | διεγερτικὰ *O* (*corr. sup. lin.*) | διεγεργητικὰ *P4* || 9 ἡμετέραν *Va* | τοιοῦτον *CMP4* | ὥσπερ) ὡς ὥσπερ *O* | γὰρ *deest in CP3P5VVa sup. lin.* *Es* || 10 τύπος *E* | κατὰ *P7U* (*corr.U*) | Ἐπικούρων *RU* (*corr. sup. lin. u³*) || 11 ἰδιώταις *P5Va* ||

14. In general, music is heard not only from people who are rejoicing, but also in hymns,⁴⁷ feasts,⁴⁸ and sacrifices to the gods. Because of this, it turns the heart⁴⁹ toward the desire for good things. But it is also a consolation to those who are grief-stricken; for this reason, the auloi playing a melody for those who are mourning are the lighteners of their grief.⁵⁰

15. Such are the things on behalf of music. Against these things, first, it is said that it is not conceded offhand that by nature some of the mele are exciting to the soul and others are restraining, for such a thing is contrary to our opinion. Just as the crash of thunder--as the followers of Epicurus say--does not signify a manifestation of a god⁵¹ (but to the common people and the superstitious it is supposed to be such) since when other bodies likewise strike one against another, a

⁴⁷Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 57.24-25) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.20. A hymn, in Graeco-Roman music, is an address to a deity in poetic form (usually hexameters) meant to be sung. Examples of hymns that survive from antiquity are the two Delphic Hymns to Apollo inscribed in stone and the Hymns of Mesomedes. Editions and transcriptions of these hymns can be found in Egert Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler altgriechischer Musik*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, no. 31 (Nürnberg: Hans Carl, 1970), pp. 13-31, 58-76; Karl von Jan, *Musici scriptores graeci* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1895-99; reprint ed., Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962), pp. 432-49, 454-63; and Henderson, pp. 363-69, 372-73. See also W. K. C. Guthrie, "Hymns," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 534.

⁴⁸Cf. Cicero *Tusc.* 4.2.4; Euripides *Med.* 192-96; and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.19-20. On the origin and nature of feasts in antiquity, see Louis Gernet, "Ancient Feasts," in *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, trans. John Hamilton, S. J. and Blaise Nagy (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), pp. 13-47.

⁴⁹The word "heart" is used throughout as a translation of "διδνολα." It denotes the part of the mind that is moved by music and may be considered what might today be called the "feelings" or the emotional part of the intellect.

⁵⁰Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4 (W.-I. 57.29-31); Matthew 9.23; and Aristotle *Prob.* 19.1 (917b19-21).

⁵¹On the source of thunder according to the Epicureans as opposed to common superstition, see Lucretius *De rerum Natura* 6.96-159; cf. Epicurus, *Ep.* 2.100 and Diogenes Laertius 10.100.

προσκραουσάντων ὁμοίως ἀποτελεῖται κτύπος, ὥσπερ καὶ μύλου
 περιλαγομένου ἢ χειρῶν συμπαταγουσῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν
 κατὰ μουσικὴν μελῶν οὐ φύσει τὰ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ δὲ τοῦτα, ἀλλ'
 ὕφ' ἡμῶν προσδοξάζεται. τὸ αὐτὸ γοῦν μέλος τῶν μὲν ἔπκων
 5 διγερετικόν ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐν θεάτροις ἀκουσάντων οὐδαμῶς.
 καὶ τῶν ἔπκων δὲ τάχα οὐ διγερετικόν ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ ταρακτικόν.

16. Εἴτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἢ τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς μέλη, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ βιωφελὴς καθέστηκεν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι δύναμιν ἔχει
 σωφρονιστικὴν, καταστέλλει τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ ἢ περισπαστικὴν·
 10 παρὰ καὶ ἡσυχασθέντων πως τῶν τοιοῦτων μελῶν πάλιν ὁ νοῦς, ὥς
 ἂν μὴ θεραπευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχῇθεν ἀνακάμπτει διάνοιαν.
 ὅνπερ οὖν τρόπον ὁ ὕπνος ἢ ὁ οἶνος οὐ λύει τὴν λύπην
 ἀλλ' ὑπερτίθεται, κάρον ἐμποῦν καὶ ἔκλυσιν καὶ λήθην, οὕτω τὸ
 ποιεῖν μέλος οὐ καταστέλλει λυπούμενην ψυχὴν ἢ περὶ ὀργὴν σεσο-
 15 βημένην τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, περισπᾷ.

17. Ὁ τε Πυθαγόρας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μάταιος ἦν, τοὺς μεθύοντας
 ἀκαίρως σωφρονίζειν βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκκλίνων· εἴτα καὶ τούτῳ
 τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπανορθούμενος αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖ πλεῖστον τι δύνασθαι τῶν
 φιλοσόφων πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς αὐλητάς.

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1 προσκραουσάντων S | ὁμοίως codd. ὁμοίως Bekk. Mau ὁμοίως μὲν,
 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως οὐδὲ ἴσος in marg.U³ | τύπος MeSE | κτύπος,
 ὥσπερ | κτύπος, καθά φασιν 'Επικουρεῖων παῖδες ὥσπερ Es | καὶ
 τοῦ μύλου E | μύλωνος in marg.U³d (corr. in marg.T²) || 2 περι-
 λαγομένου k | συμπαταγουσῶν in marg.T²b (corr. in marg.U³ συμ-
 πλατουγῶν E) || 5 διγερετικὸν P6 διενεργητικὸν P4 || 6 ἔπκων F |
 ταρακτικὸν MeS ταραττικὸν P6 τα[κ add. sup. lin.P5²]ραττικὸν P5
 τὰ ραττικὸν Va || 7 τὰ τῆς | τὰ πρὸς τῆς E || 9 ἀλλὰ ἢ Shorey ἀλλὰ
 ἢ P3 ἀλλὰ ἢ Es ἀλλ' ἢ P6 ἀλλ' ὅτι Bury ἀλλὰ ἢ cett. | περι-
 σπαστικῶς ci. in marg.U³ || 10-11 τοιοῦτων μελῶν...ὕπ' αὐτῶν
 rep.E || 11 ἀνακάμπτει M || 12-13 ὕπνος ἢ...λύπην ἀλλ' deest in RU
 (add. in marg.U³) || 14 μέλος | μέρος Va (corr. sup. lin.) |
 καταστέλλει | μεταστέλλει MoT (corr. sup. lin.T²) | καταστέλλει
 τι λυπούμενην Va | σεσοφισμένην d (corr. in marg.P7² et Va² et
 sup. lin.T²) || 15 περισπᾷ O (corr. in marg.) || 16 Πυθαγορέας
 Va || 16-17 ἀκαίρους τοὺς μεθύοντας d (corr. sup. lin.P7² et in
 marg.T² ἀκαίρου[ω sup. lin.P5²]ς P5) || 17 ἀκέρως U (corr. in
 marg.U³) ἀκέρως R | τούτῳ τοῦτο U || 18 αὐτοὺς | αὐτὴν U (corr.
 in marg.U³) αὐτῆς P5 (corr. sup. lin.P5²) αὐτῆς οὖς Va | ὁμο-
 λογεῖν Es | δύναται U (corr. sup. lin.U³)||

crash is similarly produced (just as when a millstone is turned round or hands clap), in the same manner, some of the mele of music are not by nature of one sort and others of another sort⁵² but are presumed so to be by us. The same melos is exciting to horses but in no way to men⁵³ when they hear it in theaters--and to the horses, perhaps it is not exciting but disturbing.

16. Second, even if the mele of music are such, music has not been established as useful for life because of this. It is not because it has the power of discretion that it restrains the heart,⁵⁴ but rather because it has the power of distraction. Consequently, when such mele are silenced in any way, the mind, as if it were not treated by them, reverts again to the former heart.⁵⁵ In this same manner, sleep or wine do not relax grief but heighten it by producing torpor, feebleness, and forgetfulness; thus, a certain type of melos does not restrain a grief-stricken soul or a heart agitated by anger but--if it does anything at all--distracts them.⁵⁶

17. And Pythagoras, in the first place, was foolish in wishing to give discretion to those who were unseasonably intoxicated instead of turning from them.⁵⁷ In the second place, by correcting them in this manner, he concedes that the auletes have more power than the philosophers⁵⁸ with respect to the correction of ethoses.⁵⁹

⁵²On mele being a certain sort by nature, note Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340a8); Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 12.1-16; 15.7-9; 71.7.25-35; 71.8.2-3); and *Hibeh Papyrus* 13-17.

⁵³This is based on the first Skeptic trope of the ten of Aenesidemus (see Introduction, pp. 11-12).

⁵⁴Refutation of ¶6 *supra*.

⁵⁵On the heart, see n. 49 *supra*.

⁵⁶Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 95.9-14).

⁵⁷Refutation of ¶7 *supra*.

⁵⁸An aulete, as a professional musician, would be considered a low character, hardly comparable to a philosopher; see Aristotle *Pol.* 8.4 (1339b8-10) and 8.7 (1341b8-19).

⁵⁹On the correction of ethoses, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.24) and Plutarch *De mus.* 32 (1142E-F). Ethos is the character of the soul (see Aristotle *EN* 2 [1103a14-26]) and is influenced by music through mimesis; that is, the various elements of music have an ethos of their own, which may be transmitted to the soul of a person by a sort of sympathetic process (Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.18). On this process, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Harmonia and Ethos in Ancient Greek Music," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 264-79. On ethos

18. Τό τε τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ λύραν πολεμεῖν τοῦ μικροῦ πρότερον εἰρημένου τεκμήριόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ βιωφελῆ τυγχάνειν τὴν μουσικὴν. καθάπερ δ' οἱ ἀχθοφοροῦντες ἢ ἐρέσσοντες ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιπόνων ὄρωντες ἔργων κλεόουσιν εἰς
 5 τὸ ἀνθέλκειν τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον βασάνου, οὕτω καὶ αὐλοῦς ἢ σάλπιγξιν ἐν πολεμοῦς χρώμενοι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τι τῆς διανοίας ἐπεγερτικὸν τὸ μέλος καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ λήματος αὔτιον ὑπάρχειν τοῦτο ἐμηχάνησαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ παραχῆς ἀνθέλκειν ἑαυτοὺς σπουδάζαντες, εἴγε καὶ στρόμβοις τινὲς τῶν
 10 βαρβάρων βουκινύζουσι καὶ τυμπάνους κτυποῦντες πολεμοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτρέπεται.

19. Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ λεκτέον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μηνύοντος 'Αχιλλέως· καίτοι ἐρωτικοῦ ὄντος καὶ ἀκρατοῦς οὐ παράδοξον τὴν μουσικὴν σπουδάζεσθαι.

2 μικροῦ P7h | τεκμήριον | τε ἐκ μήριον Va || 3 βιωφελῆ MeS | δ' *deest in* P2 || 4 ἐπιπόνων P3 | εἰς | εἰ P6 || 5 νοῦν | νῦν S (*corr. sup. lin.*) | τὸ (*sec.*) *deest in* M | βασάνους VaP5 (*corr. P5²*) | *post* καὶ *ci.* οἱ Bekk. Mau || 6 αὐλοῦ Ta | ἢ σάλπιγξιν | ἦσται ἐπειξιν U (*corr. in marg. U³*) | σάλπιγξ MoT (*corr. sup. lin. T²*) || 7 μέλο Va | λήματος *ci.* Chouet animi Herv. λήματος *codd.* (λήμματος T) || 8 ὑπάρχει O | τοῦτο *deest in* M | ἐμηχανήσατο Ta (*corr. sup. lin.*) ἐμηχάνησαν τὸ S || 9 στρόμβοι E στρομβας Fi | τῶν *deest in* P6 || 10 βουκινύζουσι RU (*corr. sup. lin. U³*) βουκινύζοντες *ci.* Bekk. | τυμπάνεις P5 (*corr. sup. lin. P5²*) τυμπάνει[οι *sup. lin.*]ς Va | πολεμοῦντες Me (*corr. sup. lin.*) || 13 καίτοι | τοι *deest in* h (*corr. in marg. T²*) | ἀκρατοῦς Ta (*corr. sup. lin.*) | οὐ παράδοξον | ἀπαράδοξον T (*corr. sup. lin. T²*) ||

18. That the Spartans do battle to the aulos and lyre is proof of what was said a short while before,⁶⁰ but not of music being useful for life.⁶¹ Just as those who bear burdens or row or do some other of the toilsome works beat time⁶² in order to draw the mind away from the trial of the work, so also those who use auloi and salpinxes⁶³ in battles contrived this not because there was a certain melos stimulating to the heart⁶⁴ and this melos was a cause of manly courage but because they were eager to draw themselves away from the agony and disorder (if indeed certain of the barbarians blow conches and do battle while beating on drums⁶⁵). But none of these turns one toward a manly spirit.

19. The same things must be said also of the angry Achilles.⁶⁶ And further, since he was amorous and intemperate,⁶⁷ it is not contrary to expectation for him to be eager about music.

in general, see Lord, pp. 203-19; Hermann Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899; reprint ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1968); and Warren Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). See also n. 83 *infra*.

⁶⁰I.e., that music distracts.

⁶¹Refutation of ¶8 *supra*.

⁶²E.g., Aristophanes Ra. 1073 and V. 909, where the cry given is "rhyppapae" (ῥυππαπαῖ); cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 71-72.8); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.16; and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.4.

⁶³Cf. Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (184A). The salpinx was a trumpet-like instrument of Etruscan origin, consisting of a straight tube of bronze or brass. See Michaelides, pp. 294-95.

⁶⁴On the use of instruments as incitements, cf. Seneca *De ira* 3.9.2 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 61.26-62.19).

⁶⁵This reflects a belief on the part of many Greeks that the barbarians, or non-Hellenes, were naturally inferior to those of Greek nationality. The argument here is that the barbarians would not have the capacity for manly spirit, one of the virtues. On this attitude in general, cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 1.1.5 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.6 (W.-I. 62.25-63.24).

⁶⁶Refutation of ¶9 *supra*.

⁶⁷On the deleterious effects produced by the immoderate use of music, see Plato *Rep.* 3.18 (411A-B) and Aristides Quintilianus 2.6 (W.-I. 59.15-21). Cf. Plutarch *De mus.* 40 (1145D-F), where the story of Achilles playing his lyre to console himself is used as evidence that music is fitting for a man;

20. Νῆ Δύ', ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ψόβοις
 τισὶν ὡς σῶφροσι φύλαξι παρακατετίθεντο, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων
 τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν. ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη μυθολογούντων ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν,
 5 εἴτα καὶ παρὰ πόδας αὐτοὺς διελεγχόντων· πῶς γάρ, εἴπερ μουσικῇ
 περὶ τῆς τῶν παθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἐπιστεύετο, τὸν μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονα
 ἢ Κλυταιμνήστρα ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐστίας κατέκτανεν ὥσπερ "βοῦν ἐπὶ
 φάτνῃ," εἰς δὲ τοῦς Ὀδυσσεῶς οἴκους ἡ Πηνελόπη ὄχλον ἄσωτον
 ἐπιδέχεται μειρακίων, ἀεὶ δὲ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν ἐλπιδοκοποῦσα
 καὶ παραύξουσα μοχθηρότερον καὶ χαλεπώτερον τῆς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον
 10 στρατεύσας τὸν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ πόλεμον ἡγείρε τῷ γήμαντι;

21. Καὶ μὴν εἰ οὔτε οἱ περὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα μουσικὴν ἀπε-
 δέξαντο, ῥητέον οὐ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτὴν συντείνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 ἄλλοι μὴ λειπόμενοι τῆς τούτων ἀξιολπιστίας, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Ἐκίκουρον, ἡρνήσαντο ταύτην τὴν ἀντικοίησιν· λέγομεν τούναν-
 15 τῶν αὐτὴν ἀσύμφορον εἶναι καὶ
 ἀργὴν, φύλοινον, χρημάτων ἀτημελῆ.

22. Εὐήθεις δέ εἰσι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς χρεῖαν συμ-
 πλέκοντες αὐτῇ πρὸς εὐχρηστίαν, ἐπεὶ περ δύναται μὲν τις, ὡς
 καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς γραμματικοὺς ἐλέγμεν, ἀνωφελῆ διδάσκειν
 20 τὴν ποιητικὴν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔλαττον κάκεῖνο δεικνύναι ὅτι ἡ μὲν

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1 νῆ] μὴ P6 || 2 τισὶν] τοισὶν P6 | παρακατετίθεντο MoT (corr.
 sup. lin.T²) παρακατετίθεντο Va παρακατετίθετο C || 3 Κλειται-
 μνήστραν P5Va | ἤδη] δη deest in Va || 4 καὶ deest in P3 || 5 τῶν
 deest in T || 6 Κλυταιμνήστρα P6 | κατέκτανεν MeS κατέταυτα Ta
 (corr. in marg.) κατέκτανεν O || 7 οἴκας R | Πηνελόπη MeSP3 || 8
 τὰς] τοὺς RU τῆς h | ἐλπιδοκοποῦσαι Mo ἐλπιδοκοποῦσας T (corr.
 sup. lin.T²) || 9 καὶ (sec.) rep.Va | τῆς deest in E | ἐπὶ
 Ἴλιον] ἐπὶ Ἴλιον Va (corr. sup. lin.) ἐπὶ ἦλιον EP6 || 10 στρα-
 τεύσας FB || 10-11 ἡγείρε τῷ...Πλάτωνα μουσικὴν deest in M || 11
 post μὴν add. οὐκ Heintz | οὔτε εἰ transp. sup. lin.U³ γράφεται
 εἰ οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ, puto οὔτε εἰ οἱ περὶ in marg.U³ εἰ οὔτε
 del.E post οὔτε add. εἰ Va neque si Herv. | οὔτε condemn.
 Heintz | οἱ] εἰ CP3VP5 (corr. sup. lin.P5²) | τὸν deest in d |
 ἀπεδέξαντο PESMP4OR ἀν' ἐδέξαντο U (corr. sup. lin.U³) || 12
 οὐ codd., condemn. Heintz expungendum puto in marg.U³ || 13 ἄλλα
 EsP3 (λο sup. lin.P3²) || 14 τὴν deest in RU (corr. in marg.U³) |
 post ἀντικοίησιν marginalium legi non potest U³ | λέγομεν codd.
 λέγοντες Bekk. Mau dicentes Herv. || 15 ἀσύμφορον d (corr. in
 marg.P7² et T²) || 16 αὐτὴ μελῆ Va (corr. sup. lin.) ἀτημελῆ
 MeS || 17 εὐήθης C || 18 αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν Es | εὐχαριστεῖαν P4 ευχρη-
 στεῖαν ante corr.P3 | ἐπέπερ] εἰπέπερ Mo εἰπερ T (corr. sup.
 lin.T²) || 19 ἀνωφελῆ MeS | διδάσκει E || 20 δεικνύνται ante
 corr.P7||

20. But, by Zeus, even the heroes entrusted their wives to certain bards as guardians who were possessed of discretion, just as Agamemnon entrusted Clytemnestra!⁶⁸ Yet this surely derives from men telling mythical tales--who then, immediately afterwards, convict themselves. For if music is indeed trusted for the correction of passions, how is it that Clytemnestra slew Agamemnon at his own hearth like an "ox at the manger"?⁶⁹ and how is it that Penelope received into the house of Odysseus a profligate throng of lads and, by always falsely luring and increasing their desires, stirred up for her husband the war in Ithaca more wretched and difficult than the expedition against Ilium?

21. Indeed, even if the followers of Plato accepted music,⁷⁰ one must still not say that it tends toward good fortune, since others, too,⁷¹ who are not wanting in trustworthiness on these things, such as the followers of Epicurus, deny this claim.⁷² We say, conversely, that it is useless and idle, fond of wine, careless of property.⁷³

22. Simple-minded are those who confuse it with the use of poetics in respect to utility,⁷⁴ since one can, as we said in the book against the grammarians,⁷⁵ teach that poetics is without benefit⁷⁶ and--not a lesser argument--show that music,

Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.10 (W.-I. 74.14-18), where it is said that Achilles is singing nothing erotic, but is, on the contrary, pondering the feats in arms of former men and summoning his soul into a state of manliness; and Julian *Or.* 2 (49C), where the use of music as a pastime by Achilles is considered sensible.

⁶⁸Refutation of ¶10 *supra*.

⁶⁹Homer *Od.* 11.411.

⁷⁰Refutation of ¶11 *supra*. Cf. Quintilian *Inst.*

1.10.15.

⁷¹The second Skeptic trope of the ten of Aenesidemus (see Introduction, p. 12).

⁷²Theon, speaking in Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13 (1095C-E), reports that Epicurus would go to the theatre to hear performers on the kithara and aulos but would not endure theoretical and philosophical discussions on music. Cf. Cicero *Fin.* 1.21.71-72.

⁷³Euripides fragment 184 (Nauck).

⁷⁴Refutation of ¶13 *supra*.

⁷⁵*M.* 1.280, 296-98.

⁷⁶Note the fourth Skeptic trope of the five of Agrippa (see Introduction, pp. 15-16). If the usefulness of music

μουσική περὶ μέλος καταγινομένη μόνον τέρπειν πέφυκεν, ἡ δὲ ποιητικὴ καὶ περὶ διάνοιαν καταγινομένη δύναται συνωφελεῖν τε καὶ σωφρονίζειν.

23. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἐγχεχειρημένα λόγος ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος·
 5 προηγουμένως δὲ λέγεται καὶ κατὰ μουσικῆς ὡς εἴπερ ἐστὶ
 χρειώδης καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο λέγεται χρειοῦν, παρόσον μουσικευ-
 σάμενος πλεῖον παρὰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας τέρπεται πρὸς μουσικῶν
 ἀκροαμάτων, ἢ παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι μὴ προπαι-
 δευθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἢ τῷ τὰ αὐτὰ στοιχεῖα τυγχάνειν τῆς
 10 μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν πραγμάτων εἰδήσεως, ὁποῦν τε

2 συνωφελῆν ante corr. Mo || 4 ἐγχεχειρημένα P6 ἐγχεχειρισμένα g ||
 5 προηγουμένου Va | καὶ condemn. Bekk. | ὡς] καὶ P3 (corr. sup.
 lin. P3) || 6 χρειώδης Ta (corr. sup. lin.) | καὶ] ἦτοι ci.
 Bekk. | post παρόσον ci. ὁ in marg. U³ Bekk. || 7 τρέ[ερ sup.
 lin.] πεται Mo τρέπεται T (corr. in marg. T²) || 8 κροαμάτων S
 (corr. sup. lin.) | ἀγαθὸς VCESF1P3P5 (corr. P5²) P7 (corr. sup.
 lin. P7²) h (corr. in marg. T²) | προπαιδευθένταν Va προπαιλευ-
 θέντας C || 9 αὐτῶν] c. ἥς sup. lin. P5² Va αὐτῆς in marg. U³ | τὰ
 αὐτὰ] ταῦτα Va | αὐτὰ] τοιαῦτα M | στοιχεῖ Es || 10 post καὶ ci.
 τῆς in marg. U³ Bekk. Mau | ὁποῦν] ὁποῦο εἰ S ||

since it is concerned with melos, is disposed by nature only to give delight, while poetics, since it is concerned with heart,⁷⁷ can both be beneficial and give discretion.

23. Such is the argument against the things that have been discussed. But it is also a leading argument in respect to music that if indeed it is needful, it is said to be useful in respect to the following: either insofar as one educated in music takes more delight--in comparison to the common people--from things heard musically,⁷⁸ or insofar as it is not the case that men become good if they have not received early training⁷⁹ under those educated in music, or because the same elements pertain to music and to the understanding of the subjects in philosophy⁸⁰ (such as we said

rests on the usefulness of poetics, the usefulness of poetics must first be assumed.

⁷⁷On heart (*διδνολα*), see n. 49 *supra*. Poetics, since it uses words, is less abstract than music apart from words and may be more obvious in its sway of the feelings or disposition.

⁷⁸Cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1341a13-16).

⁷⁹On musical training at an early age, see Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1340b36-40); Plato *Rep.* 7 (536D); Plutarch *De mus.* 41 (1146A-B); and Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 77.12.25-26). See also Yves Langlois, *L'Éducation des enfants par la musique d'après Platon*, 2d ed. (Paris: Schola Cantorum, 1914). On the nature of musical education in antiquity, see Lord, pp. 68-104; and Anderson, *passim*; Kathleen Munro, "The Role of Music in the Development of Educational Thought among the Early Classical Greeks" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1937); and Anton Friedrich Walter, "Die ethisch-pädagogische Würdigung der Musik durch Plato und Aristoteles," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1980): 388-415.

⁸⁰On the kinship of music and philosophy, cf. Plato *Phd.* 4 (61A) and Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.9-10. The relationship of music to philosophy is one of the major themes of Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.*; note especially Book I, sections 1-2 and Book III and the introduction and commentary in Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, pp. 14-57. See also Johannes Lohmann, "Die griechische Musik als mathematische Form," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957): 147-55; idem, *Musiké und Logos: Aufsätze zur griechischen Philosophie und Musiktheorie zum 75. Geburtstag des Verfassers am 9. Juli 1970*, ed. Anastasios Giannarás (Stuttgart: Musikwissenschaftliche Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1970); and idem, "Der Ursprung der Musik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959): 148-73, 261-91, 400-403.

καὶ περὶ γραμματικῆς ἀνώτερον ἐλέγομεν· ἢ τῷ κατὰ ἁρμονίαν
διουκείσθαι τὸν κόσμον, καθὼς φάσκουσι Πυθαγορικῶν παῖδες,
δέεσθαι τε ἡμᾶς τῶν μουσικῶν θεωρημάτων πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων
εὐδαιμονίαν, ἢ τῷ τὰ ποιὰ μέλη ἡθοποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν.

- 5 24. Οὕτε δὲ τῷ τοῦς μουσικοῦς πλεον τέρπεσθαι παρὰ τοῦς
ἰδιώτας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων λέγοιτ' ἂν χρειοῦν ἢ μουσική.
πρωτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἰδιώταις ἢ τέρψις καθάπερ αἱ ἐπὶ

1 καὶ *deest in Va* || 2 καθὼς] κα *deest in T* (*add. sup. lin.T²*) |
Πυθαγορικῶν] κ *deest in T* (*add. sup. lin.T²*) || 4 τῷ] τῶν *ante*
corr. Mo | ποιὰ] τοιαῦτα P3 (*corr. sup. lin.P3²*) | μέλη] μέλου O
(*corr. sup. lin.*) || 5 οὕτε] ἄτε P6 | τῷ] τὸ E τοῦ *ante corr.*
Mo | τρέ[ερ *sup. lin.*] πεσθαι Mo τρέπεσθαι T (*corr. in marg.*
T²) | παρὰ τοῦς *deest in S* || 6 ἂν[χρειον] χρειοῦν S || 7 ἀναγ-
καῖον P3 | ἰδιώταις] ἢ διώτας P4 | ἢ τέρψις] αἱ τέρψεις *ci.*
Bekk. | αἱ *Bekk.*, *ci. in marg.* U³ καὶ *codd.* ||

above concerning grammar⁸¹) or because the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia⁸² (just as the disciples of Pythagoras assert) and we need the musical theorems for the understanding of the whole universe, or because certain types of mele form the ethos of the soul.⁸³

24. But music would not be said to be useful because musicians take more delight than the common people from the things heard. First the delight is not necessary for the common

⁸¹Cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.72.

⁸²The harmonic order of the cosmos is a concept developed especially by the Pythagoreans, according to which, the features of the cosmos (earth, moon, sun, planets, stars) are ordered by the same mathematical principles by which the harmonic division of music is ordered. This was believed by many to be an acoustical phenomenon as well as a physical arrangement (note Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.20). Cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 4.6; Plato *Ti.* 35B-36B; Theon of Smyrna *Mathematica* 3.15-16; Aristotle *Mu.* 5 (396b15-34) and 6 (399a12-14); Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.12; Hippolytus *Haer.* 1.2.2; and Plutarch *De mus.* 44 (1147). Note also Archytas fragment 1 (Diels/Kranz 1:432.4-8) in which it is remarked that geometry, numbers, sphaeric, and music are kindred to astronomy. For modern commentary, see Francis M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato Translated with a Running Commentary* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1937), pp. 66-94; Ernest G. McClain, "Plato's Musical Cosmology," *Main Currents in Modern Thought* 30 (1973): 34-42; Jacques Handschin, "The Timaeus Scale," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 3-42; James Haar, "Pythagorean Harmony of the Universe," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, 5 vols., ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 4:38-42; Pierre Boyancé, "Les Muses et l'harmonie des sphères," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de F. Grat* (Paris: Pecquer-Grat, 1946), pp. 3-16; Bartel Leendert van der Waerden, "Die Harmonielehre der Pythagoreer," *Hermes* 78 (1943): 163-99; Théodore Reinach, "La musique des sphères," *Revue des études grecques* 13 (1900): 432-49; and Karl von Jan, "Die Harmonie der Sphären," *Philologus* 52 (1894): 13-37.

⁸³Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5 (1340a8) and *Hibeh Papyrus* 13-15. See Edward A. Lippman, "The Sources and Development of the Ethical View of Music in Ancient Greece," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 188-209; Walther Vetter, "Ethos," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3 (1954): 1581-91; and Louis Harap, "Some Hellenic Ideas on Music and Character," *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938): 153-68. See also n. 59 *supra*.

λιμῶ ἢ δύνει ἢ κρύει γινόμεναι ὑπὸ πάματος ἢ ἀλέας· εἴτα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχωσι, δυνάμεθα χωρὶς μουσικῆς ἐμπειρίας αὐτῶν ἀπολαύειν. νήπια γοῦν ἐμμελοῦς μινυρίζματος κατακούοντα κοιμίζεται, καὶ τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων ὑπὸ αὐλοῦ καὶ σύριγγος κη|λεῖται, 5 οἷ τε δελφῖνες, ὡς λόγος, αὐλῶν μελωδίαις τερπόμενοι προσνήχονται τοῖς ἐρεσσομένοις σκάφειν· ὧν οὐδὲ ὁπότερον ἔοικε μουσικῆς ἔχειν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ἔννοιαν.

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25. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μή ποτε, ὅν τρόπον χωρὶς ὀψαρτυτικῆς καὶ οἰνογευστικῆς ἡδόμεθα ὄφου ἢ οἷνου γευσάμενοι, ὧδε καὶ χωρὶς 10 μουσικῆς ἡσθεῖν ἂν τερπνοῦ μέλους ἀκούσαντες, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι τεχνικῶς γίνεται μᾶλλον παρὰ τὸν ἰδιώτην ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ἡστικοῦ πάθους μηδὲν πλεῖω κερδαίνοντες.

26. Ὡστε οὐχ αἰρετὸν μουσικὴ παρόσον τοῦς εἰδήμονας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τέρπεσθαι συμβέβηκεν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῷ προοδοποιεῖν 15 τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς σοφίαν· ἀνάπαλιν γὰρ ἀντικρίπτει καὶ ἀντιβαίνει πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφέσεσθαι, εὐαγῶγους εἰς ἀκολασίαν καὶ

1 λιμῶν RU (corr. U³) | γινόμενον g (corr. sup. lin. U³) | ὑπὸ
deest in P6 | post ὑπὸ ci. σιτιῶν ἢ in marg. U³, add. βρώματος ἢ
Fabr. ex Herv. a cibo aut || 1-2 ἢ ἀλέας...ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρ deest
in RU (corr. in marg. et in ras. U³) || 2 ἐμπειρίας Es || 3-4 κοιμύ-
ζεται [[κοιμίζεται]], καὶ E κοιμύζεσθαι U (corr. sup. lin. U³) ||
4 αὐλοῦ] αὐτοῦ T (corr. in marg. T²) | καλεῖται FiP3 κυλεῖται
EτA || 5 οἷ τε] εἷ γε ci. Bekk. | πρὸς νήχονται B || 6 ἐρισο-
μένοις P3 | ὁποτέρων P6 || 7 ἢ] καὶ Es || 8 ὅν τρόπον μή ποτε
transp. Es | ὀψαρτυτικῆς EEsO || 9 οἰνογευστικῆς EMεStA | ἡδόμεθα
edd. delectamur Herv. ἡδόμεθα Va ἢ δεόμεθα cett. (em. ἡδόμεθα
U³ sup. lin. P5² in marg. T³) | ὄφους P4 (corr. sup. lin.) | οἷνου ἢ
ὄφου transp. M (corr. sup. lin.) || 10 post ἀκούσαντες ci. lac. ?U³ ||
11 post γίνεται add. τοῦ τεχνίτου Heintz | ἀντιλαμβανομένου Heintz ||
12 πλεόν E πλεῖον ci. Bekk. | κερδαίνοντες Heintz κερ[δαίν] ἢ]-
δαίνοντες R || 13 οὐχ αἰρετὸν] οὐ χαιρετὸν Es | αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦς
E || 14 πλεῖον] πλεῖστον E || 16 εὐαγῶγος P6 ||

people, as are those delights that come from drink or warmth in a time of hunger or thirst or cold. Second, even if they are necessary delights, we are able to enjoy them without musical experience: infants are put to sleep when they listen to an emmelic cooing,⁸⁴ and the irrational of the animals are charmed⁸⁵ by the aulos and syrinx⁸⁶ (so dolphins,⁸⁷ as the account goes, delighting in the melodies of auloi, swim toward ships as they are being rowed). Neither of these is likely to have experience or conception of music.⁸⁸

25. And because of this, perhaps, in the same manner in which we enjoy tasting food or wine without the art of cookery⁸⁹ and the art of wine-tasting, so also without the art of music we would enjoy listening to delightful melos. Though on the one hand, the artists apprehend technically better than the common person, on the other, they gain nothing more of the pleasant passion.⁹⁰

26. So, music is not chosen insofar as it happens that those who have an understanding of it delight in it to a greater degree, and indeed, not because it prepares the soul beforehand for wisdom. Conversely, it beats back and goes against the desire for virtue,⁹¹ rendering the young easily led into

⁸⁴Cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 1.10.32.

⁸⁵This parallels Plutarch *Quaestiones convivales* 7.5.2 (704F-705A); cf. Plutarch *De soll. animalium* 3 (961D-E); Aelian *NA* 12.46; and Athenaeus *Deip.* 7 (328F).

⁸⁶Cf. *P.* 1.54, 119; Plutarch *Non posse suaviter* 13 (1096B) and *De mus.* 14 (1136A-B); and Athenaeus *Deip.* 4 (184A). The syrinx was a wind instrument without a reed consisting of one or several pipes. See Michaelides, pp. 314-16.

⁸⁷Cf. Euripides *El.* 435; Aelian *NA* 12.45; and Plutarch *De soll. animalium* 36 (984B-C) and *Septem sapientium convivium* 13 (156C) and 19 (162F).

⁸⁸Cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 8.6 (1341a13-16): "Musical education makes it possible for one to rejoice in beautiful mele and rhythms, not only in the common [melos] of music, as some of the animals and even a multitude of slaves and children."

⁸⁹The analogy between musical education and education in the art of cookery is also found in Aristotle *Pol.* 8 (1339a39-40).

⁹⁰Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 63.33-38 and 66.4.15-67.4.27), where the idea is put forth that if music is indeed useful, it is useful to the common people.

⁹¹Cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 78.28-32). One of the main points of Seneca *Ep. Mor.* 88 is that the real aim of

λαγνεῖαν παρασκευάζουσα τοὺς νέους, ἐπεὶ περ ὁ μουσικευσάμενος
 μολπαῖσιν ἤσθεις τοῦτ' ἀεὶ θηρεύεται·

ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοις καὶ πόλει γενήσεται,
 φύλοισι τ' οὐθείς, ἀλλ' ἄφαντος οὔχεται,

5 ὅταν γλυκεῖας ἡδονῆς ἥσσω τισ ἦ.

27. Κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ὁρμᾶσθαι
 ταύτην τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν εἰσακτέον τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν χρειώδεις ὡς
 αὐτόθεν ἐστὶ συμφανές. λέγεται ἄρα τῷ καθ' ἁρμονίαν τὸν κόσμον
 διολικεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἡθοποιοῦς μέλεσι κεχρηῆσθαι χρειώδη πρὸς
 10 εὐδαιμονίαν λέγειν αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν. ὣν τὸ μὲν τελευταῖον ἤδη
 διαβέβληται ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχον ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἁρμονίαν διολι-
 κεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ποικίλως δέικνυται φεῦδος, εἴτα καὶ ἂν
 ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχη, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο δύναται πρὸς μακαριότητα, καθάπερ
 οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἁρμονία.

2 μολπεῦσιν Es μόλπασιν P6 (corr. sup. lin.) | ἡδεῖς E ἡδεῖς
 MoT (corr. sup. lin. T²) || 3 μὲν deest in Va μένοι P5 (corr. in
 marg. P5²) || 4 τ' δ' Bekk. | τε οὐδεῖς EsO (corr. in marg.
 O) || 5 γλυκεῖαν U || 6 κατὰ ταῦτὰ FiP2P7Ve ci. in marg. U³ κατὰ
 ταῦτα MoP6Tk in marg. U³ κατ' αὐτὰ b | post οὐδὲ ci. ἐκ τοῦ
 Bekk., ci. τῷ in marg. U³ | αὐτῶν rep. MoT || 8 λεύπετε Es | τῷ
 edd. τὸ codd. (deest in M) || 9 τῷ τὸ ME | χρειώδης d (ς del.
 P7) | χρειώδη καὶ πρὸς M || 10 αὐτὴν λέγειν b | ὧν τῶν P4 |
 ἤδη] ἡδεῖ OPR || 11 οὐχ ὡς P4 || 12 δέικνυσθαι Es || 13 τοιοῦτον
 FiM sup. lin. P7h τοσοῦτο ci. Bekk. | μακαριότητα P5Va || 14 ἐν
 τοῖς] αὐτοῖς P7 (corr. in marg.) | ἁρμονίαν Mo||

licentiousness and salaciousness, since indeed one educated in music

Taking pleasure in song and dance, he pursues this always;
He will be idle both at home and in the city;
Even to friends a good-for-nothing, he goes away unseen,
Whenever one is slave to sweet pleasure.⁹²

27. In accord with these same things, the need for music must not adduce that music and philosophy are defined from the same elements,⁹³ as is immediately evident. It remains, therefore, to say that it happens to be needful for good fortune because the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia, or because one uses mele that form ethos. Of these, the last has already been brought into discredit as not being true.⁹⁴ That the cosmos is ordered in accord with harmonia is shown to be false in various ways; even if it is true, such a thing has no power in reference to happiness--just as neither does the harmonia in the instruments.⁹⁵

paideia (of which music is a part) should be virtue. On music and virtue, see Aristotle *Pol.* 8.5.5-6 (1340a14-25). Aristotle *EN* 1.13 (1102a5) claims that virtue is necessary for εὐδαιμονία (good fortune); this idea is found also among the Stoics in Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.7.5b5 (Wachsmuth 2:64.9-10); cf. ps.-Plato *Def.* (412D). On good fortune, see n. 13 *supra*. Virtue is a quality of the irrational, but it partakes of reason in the ordering and regulation of the irrational passions. It represents a moderation of the passions rather than a destruction or abolition. Cf. Plutarch *De virtute morali*, esp. 4-12 (443C-452A) and Aristotle *EN* 2. Four virtues commonly mentioned by the philosophers are judgment (φρονήσις), righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), discretion (σωφροσύνη), and manly spirit (ἀνδρεία), the latter two of which are frequently brought up in the first part of this treatise. Cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.24; Plutarch *De virtute morali* 2 (440E-441B); and Plato *Prot.* (329D, 330B) and *Leges* 1 (632E-633A). See G. B. Kerferd, "Arete/Agathon/Kakon," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols., ed. Paul Edwards (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1967), 1:147-48; on music and virtue, see Lord, pp. 73-75, 92-96.

⁹²Euripides fragment 187 (Nauck).

⁹³See n. 20 *supra*.

⁹⁴Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 64.2.19-43).

⁹⁵On the refutation of the existence of a harmonia in the cosmos, cf. Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 100.30.6-19 and 101.31.10-24). Aristotle *De caelo* 2.9 rejects the idea that the harmonia of the cosmos is an audible phenomenon, but see Aristides

28. Ἄλλα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶδος τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀντιρρήσεως τοιοῦτότροπὸν ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τῶν || τῆς μουσικῆς ἀρχῶν καθαπτόμενον πραγματικωτέρας μᾶλλον ἔχεται ζητήσεως. οἷον ἐπεὶ ἡ μουσικὴ ἐπιστήμη τὴν ἐστὶν ἐμμελῶν τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν ἐνρῦθμων τε καὶ ἐκρῦθμων, πάντως ἐὰν δεῖξωμεν ὅτι οὔτε τὰ μέλη ὑποστατά ἐστὶν οὔτε οἱ ῥυθμοὶ τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν πραγμάτων τυγχάνουσιν, ἐσόμεθα παρεστακότες καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀνυπόστατον. λέγωμεν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ μελῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, μικρὸν ἄνωθεν καταρξάμενοι.
- 10 29. Φωνὴ τοῦνυν ἐστίν, ὥς ἂν τις ἀναμφισβητήτως ἀποδοίῃ, τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς· καθάπερ γὰρ μόνης ὁράσεως ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ μόνης ὁσφρήσεως τὸ εὐωδῶν καὶ δυσωδῶν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἥδη γεύσεως τὸ γλυκῶν ἢ πικρῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὕτω γένοιτ' ἂν ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς ἡ φωνή.
- 15 30. Τῆς δὲ φωνῆς ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐστὶν ὁξεῖα ἡ δὲ βαρεῖα, μεταφορικώτερον ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀφὴν αἰσθητῶν ἐκατέρου τούτων λαμβάνοντος τὴν προσηγορίαν· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ κεντοῦν καὶ τέμνον

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1 τῆς *deest in E* || 2 τοιοῦτο τρόπον *U (corr. U³)* || 5 ἐνρῦθμων *g* | ἐν ῥύθμων *te* καὶ ἐκ ῥύθμων *C* || 6 οὔτε *in marg. P6* | ῥυθμοὶ | ἀριθμοὶ *Chouet* | ὑπακτῶν *E* || 7 παρεστηκότες *P2f sup. lin. T²* || 10 *ante* φωνὴ *add. tit.* *Ὅρος φωνῆς *EsP2P3P5 in marg. codd. CFFim MoP7TVVe* | ἀναμφισβητήτως *P2* ἀναμφισβητήτως *BMe* || 11 αἰσθητῶν *VaP5 (corr. sup. lin. P5²)* | γὰρ *deest in k* || 12 τὸ (*sec.*) | τῶν *k* || 12-13 καὶ δυσωδῶν *rep. VP5* || 13 κλυκῶν *Ta* || 13-14 καὶ ἥδη... αἰσθάνεσθαι *deest in d (corr. in marg. P7² et T²)* || 15 τ(ς) τῆς *P6* | μεταφορικώτερον δὲ ἀπὸ *g* (δὲ *del. U³*) || 16 περὶ τὴν *sup. lin. M* || 17 λαμβάνοντες *P6* | τὸ *sup. lin. S* ||

28. Such is the manner of the first type of refutation against the musicians, but the second, assailing even the principles of music, consists rather of a more practical inquiry. So, since music is a science of the emmelic and ecmelic, the rhythmic and nonrhythmic,⁹⁶ especially if we show that neither do the mele have substance nor do the rhythms pertain to existent things, we shall have proven that music too is without substance. Let us speak first concerning mele and their substance, beginning with some brief preliminaries.

29. Sound is, as one would indisputably define it,⁹⁷ the sense-object proper to hearing. Just as it is the activity⁹⁸ of sight alone to apprehend colors, and of smell alone to grasp what is sweet-smelling and ill-smelling, and--further--of taste to sense what is sweet or bitter, so sound would be the sense-object proper to hearing.⁹⁹

30. Of sound, one is sharp, another heavy, each of them taking the reference rather metaphorically from the sense-objects of touch. For just as the world¹⁰⁰ refers to what

Quintilianus *De mus.* 3.20 for another explanation. The harmonia of instruments is discussed at some length in Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.17-19.

⁹⁶This definition of music is also found at Sextus Empiricus *M.* 11.186; cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 1.3 (Jan 292.13-14). For definitions of emmelic and ecmelic, see Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring 10.23-25); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.36-38; and Timaeus Locri (101B). Rhythmic is what is characterized by a regular pattern of chronoi ordered by arsis and thesis (see n. 140 *infra*). Nonrhythmic has no such regular order. See Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.14 (W.-I. 32.30-33.7), who also speaks of a rhythmoid type, which shares both in the order of the rhythmic and in the disorder of the nonrhythmic. In music, melody, diction, and bodily motion are organized by rhythemics (Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13 [W.-I. 31.21-22]).

⁹⁷On the view of the Skeptic that definitions are useless, see P. 2.205-12.

⁹⁸On the various parts of the body and their functions, see Aristotle *PA* 1.5 (645b15-20) and 2.1 (646b11-15).

⁹⁹On sense-objects proper to specific senses, as opposed to common sense-objects, such as movement, rest, number, shape, and size, see Aristotle, *De anima* 2.6; cf. Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.10 (900A).

¹⁰⁰The use of "world" here approximates the meaning of "world" as Heidegger and Gadamer use it, i.e., not the physical

τὴν ἄφην ὅξυ προσηγόρευεν ὁ βίος καὶ τὸ θλάσιν ἐμποιοῦν καὶ
 πιέζον βαρύ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν μὲν οἶνονεὶ
 τέμνουσαν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀξεῖαν, τὴν δὲ ὥσπερ θλάσαν βαρεῖαν. καὶ
 οὐ ξένον ὥσπερ φαῖαν τινα καὶ μέλαιναν καὶ λευκὴν φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
 5 πρὸς τὴν ὄρασιν αἰσθητῶν κεκλήκαμεν· ὧδε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν
 ἄφην ἐχρησάμεθα τισι μεταφοραῖς.

31. Ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἴσης ἐκφέρηται ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ὑπὸ μίαν
 τάσιν, ὡς μηδένα περισπασμὸν γίνεσθαι τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἥτοι ἐπὶ τὸ
 βαρύτερον ἢ τὸ ὀξύτερον, τότε ὁ τοιοῦτος ἤχος φθόγγος καλεῖται,
 10 παρὰ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ ὑπογράφοντές φασι "φθόγγος ἐστὶν ἐμμελοῦς
 φωνῆς πτώσις ὑπὸ μίαν τάσιν."

32. Τῶν δὲ φθόγγων οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ὁμόφωνοι οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὁμό-
 φωνοι, καὶ ὁμόφωνοι μὲν οἱ μὴ διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων καὶ ὀξύτητα
 καὶ βαρύτητα, οὐχ ὁμόφωνοι δὲ οἱ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντες. || τῶν δὲ

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1 θλάσιον k θαλάσιον Fi || 2 πιέζων Fi || 4 post ξένον add. εἰ
 edd., in marg. T³ ci. in marg. U³ post alienum, si Herv. | φαῖαν|
 ἂν C || τινα [[καὶ]] καὶ μέλαιναν P3 | μέλαινα Es | φωνὴν rep.
 VCP5 || 5 ὥρασιν M || 6 ἐχθησάμεθα P5Va || 8 ὡς] ὧ T (corr. in
 marg. T²) ὡ Mo || 9 τὸ deest in M | ὁ τοιοῦτος] οὔτοι οὗτος U
 (corr. U³) | ἤχος sup. lin. Es ἐλχος VaP5 (corr. P5²) || 10 ὑπο-
 γράφονται P4 ὑπογράφοντε R οἱ πογράφοντες CEsP5VVa | ante
 φθόγγος add. tit. Ὅρος φθόγγου EsP3P5 in marg. codd. CFFiMoOP
 P2P4P7TV Ὅρος φθόγγου in marg. M | φθόγγος P5 || 11 πτώσις E ||
 12 ὁμόφωνοι (pr.) P6 || 13 καὶ ὁμόφωνοι in marg. P7 | μὴ deest
 in M || 14 μὴ| μὲν VaP5 (corr. in marg. P5²) ||

stings and what cuts the touch as sharp, and what crushes and presses down as heavy, in the same manner too for sound, the one, as if it cut the hearing, is sharp; the other, as if it crushes (as it were¹⁰¹), is heavy. It is not strange that, just as we call a sound gray and black and white¹⁰² from the sense-objects of sight, so also we use some metaphors from the sense-objects of touch.

31. Whenever the sound is emitted evenly and on one pitch--when there occurs no distraction of the sense either toward the heavier or the sharper--then such a sound is called a note. Consequently, the musicians, describing in general, say "a note is a fall of emmelic sound on one pitch."¹⁰³

32. Of notes, some are homophonous, others not homophonous; and homophonous are those that do not differ one from another in sharpness and heaviness;¹⁰⁴ not homophonous are those that

world, but a limited sphere of human experience, thought, and activity.

¹⁰¹Sextus Empiricus is admitting the image is forced.

¹⁰²On what sound may be called, see Pollux *Onom.* 2.117.

For a more complete discussion of the analogy of color and sound, see Aristotle *Top.* 1.15 (106a23-106b12, 107a37-107b5): "white" (λευκός), when applied to sound, means "clear," and "black" (μέλας) means "indistinct." Aristotle, unlike Sextus Empiricus, claims here that "gray" (φατός) cannot be applied to sound. But cf. Aristotle *Aud.* (802a2) where "gray" is indeed applied to sound. For a similar color analogy, cf. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.9 and a similar passage in Pachymeres. See Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Aristides Quintilianus and the *Harmonics* of Manuel Bryennius: A Study in Byzantine Music Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 27 (1983): 36-37.

¹⁰³Cf. §42 *infra*. The definition of note as found in Aristoxenus *Harm.* 1.15 (Da Rios 20.16-17), "φωνῆς πρῶτος ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν," is the basis for the definition as found in the later minor theorists as well as Sextus Empiricus: Cleonides *Intro.* 1 (Jan 179.9-10); Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.4-7); Bacchius *Intro.* 1.4 (Jan 292.15-17); Gaudentius *Intro.* 2 (Jan 329.7-8); and Anon. Bell. 39 (Najock 11.19-12.1) and 48-49 (Najock 14.6-16); by contrast, see Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring 10.18-19). See Albrecht Riethmüller, "Phthongos," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

¹⁰⁴Cf. discussions by others on homophonous notes: in Gaudentius *Intro.* 8 (Jan 337.7-8) they are, as in Sextus

ὁμοφώνων, ὥς καὶ οὐχ ὁμοφώνων, τινὲς μὲν ὀξεῖς τινὲς δὲ βαρεῖς
καλοῦνται, καὶ πάλιν τῶν οὐχ ὁμοφώνων οἱ μὲν διάφωνοι προσα-
γορεύονται οἱ δὲ σύμφωνοι, καὶ διάφωνοι μὲν οἱ ἀνωμάλως καὶ
5 καὶ ἀμερίστως.

33. Σαφέστερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἔσται τὸ ἐκατέρου γένους ἰδίωμα
τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς γεῦσιν ποιότητων μεταβάσει χρησαμένων ἡμῶν.
ὥσπερ τοῦνυν τῶν γευστῶν τὰ μὲν τοιαύτην ἔχει κρᾶσιν ὥστε
μονοειδῶς καὶ λείως κινεῖν τὴν αἰσθησιν, ὅποσον τὸ οἶνόμελι καὶ
10 ὑδρόμελι, τὰ δὲ οὐχ ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ ὁμοίως, καθάπερ τὸ ὀξύμελι
(ἐκότερον γὰρ τούτων τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἴδιον ἐντυποῦ ποιότητα τῇ
γεύσει), οὕτω τῶν φθόγγων διάφωνοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἀνωμάλως τὴν
ἀκοὴν καὶ δισεσπασμένως κινοῦντες, σύμφωνοι δὲ οἱ ὁμαλότεροι.
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν διαφορά τῶν φθόγγων τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ παρὰ
15 μουσικοῦς.

1 ὁμοφώνων (*sec.*) | ὁμοφώνων P4 || 1-2 τινὲς μὲν...οὐχ ὁμοφώνων
deest in Es || 4 δισεσπασμένως U (*corr. sup. lin. et in marg.* U³)
δισεσπασμένων P6 | οὐμφωνοι Va || 5 ἀμέριστος Va || 6 ἐκότερον P7
(*corr. in marg.*) || 7 γεύσει d (*corr. in marg.* P7² et T²) γένειν
Ta (*corr. sup. lin.*) || 8 γευσῶν CE | χρᾶσιν P6 || 9 κινεῖν Va |
ad οἶνόμελι *add. tit. in marg.* οἶνόμελι, ὑδρόμελι, ὀξύμελι
P5² || 10 ὀξύμελι | με *deest in T* (*add. sup. lin.* T²) || 11 τῶν
deest in E | μιγμάτων | πραγμάτων P4 | ἐντυποῦ | ἐμποιεῖ *c. var.*
lect. in marg. ἐντυποῦ EP7V ἐμποιεῖ *c. var. lect. sup. lin.*
ἐντυποῦ P3² ἐμποιεῖ *c. var. lect. in marg.* ἐκτυποῦ C ἐκτυποῦ M
ἐμποιεῖ *in marg.* U³ ἴδιον ἐμποιεῖ ἐντυποῦ P5Va ἐμποιεῖ ποιότητα
ἢ ἐντυποῦ Es || 12 γεύσει | γενέσει Ta | διάφωνον MoT (*corr. sup.*
lin. T²) διὰ φθοῦν μὲν εἰσιν VC *ante corr.* P5 | ἀνωμέλως Va ||
13 δισεσπασμένως M ||

are not so. Of the homophonous, as of the not homophonous, some are called sharp and others heavy; and again, of the not homophonous, some are referred to as dissonant, others as consonant. Dissonant are those that move the hearing irregularly and in a disjointed manner; consonant are those that do so more regularly and continuously.¹⁰⁵

33. The property of each genus will be rather more clear when we use the transference from the qualities of taste. Just as, of the things that may be tasted, some have such a blend as to move the sense uniformly and smoothly--such as oenome¹⁰⁶ and hydromel¹⁰⁷--and others not in like manner nor similarly--like oxymel¹⁰⁸--(for each of these mixed things imprints the proper quality on the taste) so, of the notes, dissonant are those that move the hearing irregularly and in a disjointed manner, and the consonant are more regular. Such is the difference of the notes according to the musicians.

Empiricus, notes that do not differ from one another in height and depth. According to Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.7 (Düring 15.10-12), homophonous notes are those that impress upon the hearing the perception of only one sound, such as octaves and their compounds. Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.6 (W.-I. 10.5-6) states that they are notes of equal pitch but differing function. See Michaelides, pp. 141-42; and Wolf Frobenius, "Homophonos/aequisonus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

¹⁰⁵On consonant and dissonant, see Gaudentius *Intro.* 8 (Jan 337.5-338.7); Bacchius *Intro.* 1.10 (Jan 293.8-12) and 1.59 (Jan 305.7-9); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.44 (Da Rios 55.12-56.19); Cleonides *Intro.* 5-6 (Jan 187.12-188.2); Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.20-262.6); Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.4 (Düring 10.25-28); and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.6 (W.-I. 9.26-10.5). On consonance, see Will Richter, "ΕΥΦΩΝΙΑ: Zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte eines musikologischen Begriffs," in *Convivium musicorum: Festschrift Wolfgang Boetticher zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 19. August 1974*, ed. Heinrich Hüschen and Dietz-Rüdiger Moser (Berlin: Merseburger, [1974]), pp. 264-90. On dissonance, see Fritz Reckow, "Diaphonia," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, [c1972-83]).

¹⁰⁶Oenome is a mixture of honey and wine.

¹⁰⁷Hydromel is a mixture of honey and water.

¹⁰⁸Oxymel is a mixture of honey and vinegar.

34. Περιγράφεται δέ τινα πρὸς τούτων διαστήματα, καθ' ἃ καὶ ἡ φωνὴ κινεῖται ἥτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύτερον ἀναβαίνουσα ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύτερον ἀνιευμένη. παρ' ἧν αἰτίαν κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῶν διαστημάτων τούτων τὰ μὲν σύμφωνα τὰ δὲ διάφωνα προσηγόρευται, καὶ
- 5 σύμφωνα μὲν ὅποσα ὑπὸ συμφώνων φθόγγων περιέχεται, διάφωνα δὲ ὅποσα ὑπὸ διαφώνων. τῶν δὲ συμφώνων διαστημάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ ἐλάχιστον διὰ τεσσάρων οἱ μουσικοὶ προσαγορεύουσι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο μεῖζον διὰ πέντε, καὶ τοῦ διὰ πέντε μεῖζον τὸ διὰ πασῶν. πάλιν τε τῶν διαφώνων διαστημάτων ἐλάχιστον μὲν ἐστὶ
- 10 καὶ πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ καλουμένη δέσσις, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἡμιτόνιον, ὃ ἐστὶ διπλοῦν τῆς δέσεως, τρίτον ὁ τόνος, ὃς ἐστὶ διπλασίων τοῦ ἡμιτονίου.

2 ἥτοι] οὔτοι MoT | ἐπὶ (pr.) | ἐποὶ Va | ἢ] ἡ C | ἐπὶ (sec.)
 deest in d (corr. in marg. P7²) || 3 ἀνιευμένη] ἀνυαμένη Va ἀνιευ-
 U ἀνιεύσα ci. in marg. U² in alio exemplari legitur ἀνυαμένη,
 puto ἀνιευμένη in marg. U³ ἀνι[.]μένη M || 4 προσαγορεύεται
 P7 || 6 δὲ deest in MT (corr. sup. lin. T²) || 7 τὸ] τὰ T (corr.
 sup. lin. T²) || 8 καὶ τοῦ διὰ πέντε deest in U (καὶ τοῦ add.
 marg. U³) || 9 πασῶν] πολλῶν g (corr. in marg. U³) | τε] δὲ U ||
 10 ad δέσσις add. tit. in marg. τί δέσσις FM||

34. Some intervals¹⁰⁹ are outlined by these notes, in accord with which the sound moves, either ascending toward the sharper or descending toward the heavier. For this reason, by analogy, some of these intervals are referred to as consonant, others as dissonant. Consonant intervals are as many as are bounded by consonant notes; dissonant, as many as are bounded by dissonant notes. Of the consonant intervals,¹¹⁰ the musicians refer to the fourth as the first and smallest, the fifth as the next greater one after this, and the octave as the one greater than the fifth. Again, of the dissonant intervals, the smallest and first is the so-called (by them) diesis; the second, the semitone, which is twice the diesis; the third, the tone, which is double the semitone.

¹⁰⁹On the definition of intervals in general, see Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 261.8); Bacchius *Intro.* 1.6 (Jan 292.20-21); Gaudentius *Intro.* 3 (Jan 329.23-330.4); Aristoxenus *Harm.* 1.15 (Da Rios 20.20-21.6); Cleonides *Intro.* 1 (Jan 179.11-12) and 5; Anon. *Bell.* 22 (Najock 7.3-4) and 50 (Najock 14.17-15.3); and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.7. On the consonant intervals, see Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.95-98, 10.283; Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.5 and 1.7 (Düring 11.1-5, 15.12-14); and Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.44-45 (Da Rios 55.12-56.19). On the diesis, semitone, and tone, see Bacchius *Intro.* 1.8 (Jan 293.1-5). On the diesis, see Aristotle *APo.* 1.23 (87b37) and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.7. The diesis discussed by the ancient theorists approximates the quarter-tone in modern conception.

¹¹⁰The concept of consonant intervals was also influenced heavily by Pythagorean philosophy. According to the Pythagoreans, the consonant intervals are those that are represented by ratios whose terms are taken from the elements of the tetractys (1, 2, 3, 4), such as 4:3 (the fourth), 3:2 (the fifth), and 2:1 (the octave). The dissonant intervals are then derived from these by addition or subtraction. For instance, a tone is the difference between a fifth and a fourth; a semitone is the difference between a fourth and two tones. Aristoxenus accepts a like set of consonances and dissonances but posits empirical (as Sextus Empiricus does here) rather than purely mathematical criteria for their definition. On the intervals, see C. André Barbera, "The Persistence of Pythagorean Mathematics in Ancient Musical Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980), especially pp. 84-97, 127-46; Richard Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics and Music," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*

35. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον ἅπαν διάστημα κατὰ μουσικὴν ἐν
 φθόγγοις ἔχει τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὕτω καὶ πᾶν ἦθος. τὸ δ' ἔστι τι
 γένος μελωδίας. καθὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἡθῶν || τινὰ μὲν ἐστὶ
 σκυθρωπὰ καὶ στιβαρώτερα, ὅποια τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοροῦσι τὰ δὲ
 5 εὐένδοτα πρὸς ἔρωτος καὶ οἴνοφλυγίας καὶ ὀδυρμοῦς καὶ οἰμωγᾶς,
 οὕτω τὺς μὲν μελωδία σεμνὰ τινὰ καὶ ἀστεῖα ἐμποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ
 κινήματα, τὺς δὲ ταπεινότερα καὶ ἀγενεῖ. καλεῖται δὲ κατὰ
 κοινὸν ἡ τοιοῦτότροπος μελωδία τοῦς μουσικοῦς ἦθος ἀπὸ τοῦ

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2 πᾶν] τὸ P3 | τι *deest in* MP4f || 3 καθὰ] καθάπερ P3 || 4 καὶ]
 ἐπὶ RU (*corr. in marg.* U³) | τὰ (*pr.*) | κατὰ Ta || 5 εὐένδοντα CP3
 εὐέδοντα [[καὶ στιβαρώτερα]] πρὸς Ta || 6 τὺς] τὸ P4 | μὲν *deest*
in P3 δὲ MoT (*corr. sup. lin.* T²) || 7 ταπεινότερον P4 τὰ πεινότερα
 U ταπεινώτερα P6 | ἀγενεῖ MEP4 || 8 ἡ] οἱ Es | τοιοῦτος τρόπος U
 (*corr.* U³) ||

35. Moreover, in this manner every interval in music has its substance in notes--so too every ethos. Ethos is a genus of melody.¹¹¹ As of the human ethoses, some are sullen and stronger (they tell that such were those of the ancients) and others are easily yielding to love and drunkenness and lamentations and wailings, so one melody produces movements in the soul that are dignified and charming, another produces movements more base and ignoble. Melody of such a sort is commonly called by the musicians "ethos," from its being productive of ethos,¹¹²

22 (1963-64): 189-98, 325-35; and idem, "Aristoxenus and Greek Mathematics," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 96-110.

¹¹¹Cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 2.79 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 2.

¹¹²Three ethoses are regularly associated with music: systaltic, diastaltic, and hesychastic or medial. See Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.12 (W.-I. 30.12-15) and 1.19 (W.-I. 40.14-15) and Cleonides *Intro.* 13 (Jan 206.3-18). Systaltic means "depressing" and is the ethos "through which we move the painful passions" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 93). It is appropriate to "amorous feelings, lamentations, wailings, and the like" (Jon Solomon, "Cleonides: Εἰσαγωγή ἁρμονικῆ; Critical edition, Translation, and Commentary" [Ph.D. dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980], p. 160). Diastaltic means "exciting" and is that "through which we awaken the spirit" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus* p. 93). It is used to signify "Magnificence, manly elevation of the soul, heroic deeds, and such properties of the soul. Tragedy especially employs those properties as does any other genre of this character" (Solomon, p. 160). Aristides Quintilianus uses the term "medial" for the third of the ethoses in connection with melic composition and "hesychastic" for the third in rhythmic composition. He says that the medial ethos of melic composition is that "through which we bring the soul round to quietude" (Mathiesen, *Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 93). Cleonides says the hesychastic "is that which peace of the soul and a leisurely and peaceful condition accompany. Hymns, paeans, encomia, advisories, and the like correspond to this ethos" (Solomon, p. 160). According to Philodemus *Mus.* (Kemke 63.2.15-64.2.19), the distinctive ethoses are simply a matter of opinion. On the diastaltic ethos, see Jon Solomon, "The Diastaltic Ethos," *Classical Philology* 76 (1981): 93-100.

ἦθους εἶναι ποιητικὴ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ χλωρὸν δέος τὸ χλωροποιόν,
καὶ τὸ "νότοι βαρυήκοι ἀχλυώδεις κερηβαρικοὶ νωθροὶ διαλυτι-
κοί" ἀντὶ τοῦ τούτων δραστηκοί.

36. Τῆς δὲ κοινῆς μελωδίας ταύτης τὸ μὲν τι χρῶμα λέγεται
5 τὸ δὲ ἁρμονία τὸ δὲ διάτονον, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἁρμονία αὐστηροῦ τινος
ἦθους καὶ σεμνότητος κατασκευαστικὴ πως ὑπῆρχεν, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα
λιγυρὸν τί ἐστι καὶ θρηνηῶδες, τὸ δὲ διάτονον ἐντραχυ καὶ ὑπᾶ-
γροικον. ἀλλὰ δὴ πάλιν τὸ μὲν ἁρμονικὸν μέλος τῶν μελωδουμένων
ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ διάτονον καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ἰδιωτέρας τινὰς
10 εἶχε διαφορᾶς, δύο μὲν τὸ διάτονον, τὴν τε τοῦ μαλακοῦ διατόνου
καλουμένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ συντόνου, τρεῖς δὲ τὸ χρῶμα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
τι αὐτοῦ τονικὸν καλεῖται τὸ δὲ ἡμιτόνιον τὸ δὲ μαλακόν.

1 καὶ *deest in P3* || 2 τὸ νότου] τὸν ὅτι U (*corr. sup. lin. et in marg. U³*) οἱ τόνοι *ci. in marg. U²* | νήτοι E | βαρυήκοι] η *deest in U (add. sup. lin. U³)* | κερηβαρικοὶ P7 (*corr. sup. lin.*)
κερηβαρικοὶ Va | νωθροὶ *deest in E* || 3 τοῦ *deest in k* || 4 μὲν
τι] μέντοι F1MoP2P7Tvek | *ad* χρῶμα *add. tit. in marg.* ἁρμονία,
χρῶμα, διάτονον P5² || 5 τὸ δὲ διάτονον... ἁρμονία *deest in E* |
ἡ] οἱ Es || 6 καὶ] οὐ P7 | καταγευστικὴ Es | ὑπάρχει EsVa *in*
marg. U³ ὑπάρχει *c. var. lect. in marg.* ὑπῆρχε VCP5 ὑπάρχει *c.*
var. lect. sup. lin. ὑπῆρχε P3² | τὸ] τῷ Es || 7 λυγρὸν EMe
STa | τί] τέ k | ὄντραχυ T (*corr. sup. lin. T²*) || 8 τὸ] τὸν MoT
(*corr. T²*) || 9 διαίρετόν g (διαίρέτερον P4) | τὸ (*sec.*) | τῷ M |
ἰδιωτέρας *codd.* εἰδιωτέρας Bekk. Mau || 9-10 καὶ τὸ χρῶμα...
τὸ διάτονον *in marg. Es* || 10 δύο] διὰ P6 || 11 γὰρ *deest in P6* ||
12 δὲ (*sec.*) δέον R ||

just as we call fear "pale"¹¹³ because it makes one pale, and the "south winds hard of hearing, hazy, headachy, sluggish, and relaxed"¹¹⁴ instead of effective of these.

36. Of this common melody, one type is termed "color," another "harmonia," and another "diatonic."¹¹⁵ Of these, the harmonia is somehow constructive of dignity and a severe ethos, the color is a shrill and mournful ethos, and the diatonic is a somewhat harsh and coarse ethos. Again, of those that are sung, the harmonic melos is undifferentiated, but the diatonic and the color have some more particular differences.¹¹⁶ The diatonic has two, the so-called difference of the soft diatonic and of the intense; the color has three, for of these, one is called tonal, another semitonal, and another soft.¹¹⁷

¹¹³This image is found in Homer *Il.* 7.479, 8.77, 17.67; *Od.* 11.43, 633, 12.243, 22.42, 24.450, 533; and *h.Cer.* 2.190.

¹¹⁴This comes from Hippocrates *Aph.* 3.5; cf. Aristotle *Mete.* (973b9).

¹¹⁵On these three genera, see Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.46-52 (Da Rios 57.13-65.20); Cleonides *Intro.* 3 (Jan 181.12); Ptolemy *Harm.* 1.14; Bacchius *Intro.* 1.21 (Jan 298.5-6); Gaudentius *Intro.* 5 (Jan 331.7-9); Bell. Anon. 52-56 (Najock 15.7-16.4); Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.9; and Nicomachus *Ench.* 12 (Jan 262.7-263.17).

¹¹⁶Cf. Cleonides *Intro.* 7; Aristoxenus *Harm.* 2.50-52 (Da Rios 62.14-65.20). Note that in these treatises, the three shades of the color are called soft, hemiolic, and whole-tone.

¹¹⁷The color, harmonia, and diatonic that Sextus Empiricus mentions here are the standard Aristoxenian genera of the tetrachord, that is, different divisions of the tetrachord into smaller melodic intervals. According to theorists who follow the Aristoxenian tradition, the harmonia is divided into (moving from low to high) diesis, diesis, and ditone; the soft color into a diesis equal to a third of a tone, another such diesis, and an interval of one and five-sixths tones; the hemiolic (or semitonal) color into a diesis one and a half times the size of the diesis of the harmonia (about three-eighths of a tone), another such diesis, and an interval of one and three-fourths tones; the whole-tone (tonal) color into semitone, semitone, and tone-and-a-half; the soft diatonic into semitone, three noncomposite dieses, and five noncomposite dieses; and the intense diatonic into semitone, tone, and tone. See C. André Barbera, "Arithmetic and Geometric Divisions of the Tetrachord," *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977): 294-323.

37. Πλὴν ἐκ τούτων συμφανὲς ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κατὰ μελωδίας θεωρία παρὰ τοῖς μουσικοῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶχεν εἰ μὴ τοῖς φθόγγοις. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλροϋμένων αὐτῶν τὸ μηδὲν ἔσται ἡ μουσική. πῶς οὖν καὶ ἔρεῦ τις ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ φθόγγοι; ἐκ
5 τοῦ φωνῆν αὐτοὺς κατὰ γένος ὑπάρχειν, φήσομεν, καὶ τὴν φωνῆν ἀνύπαρκτον ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι δεδεῖχθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δογματικῶν μαρτυρίας.

38. Οἷ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυρήνης φιλόσοφοι μὴ φασὶν ὑπάρχειν τὰ πάθη, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέεν· ὁθεν καὶ τὴν φωνῆν μὴ οὔσαν πάθος, ἀλλὰ
10 πάθος ποιητικὴν, μὴ γίνεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρκτῶν. οἷ || γέ τοι περὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον καὶ Πλάτωνα πᾶν αἰσθητὸν ἀναλροῦντες συναναι-
ροῦσι καὶ τὴν φωνήν, αἰσθητὸν τι δοκοῦσαν πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχειν. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως, εἰ ἔστι φωνή, ἥτοι σῶμά ἐστίν ἢ ἀσώματον· οὔτε δὲ σῶμά ἐστίν, ὥς οἱ Περιπατητικοὶ διὰ πολλῶν διδάσκουσιν, οὔτε
15 ἀσώματος, ὥς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

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1 τοῦτον Va | μελωδίας *deest in U (add. sup. lin.U³)* | θεωρία Es || 2 παρ' αὐτοῖς U (*corr. in marg.U³*) | τινὲ τι MT (*corr. in marg.T²*) | εἶχεν b ἔχει d (εἶχεν *in marg.P7² et T²*) || 3 post μὴ *add. ἐν d (del.P7)* | διφθόγγοις P3 | αὐτῶν *deest in M* || 4 μουσική [(πῶς)] πῶς O | φθόγγει R || 6 δεδεῖ[(.)]χθαι P4 || 6-9 ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς...καὶ τὴν φωνῆν *deest in P6* || 8 οἷ] ὁ E | φιλόσο-
φος E || 9 πάθε R || 10 μὴ *rep.E* | γενέσθαι M || 11 τὸν Va | συναναιροῦσι CVVaP5 (*corr. sup. lin.P5²*) || 12 δοκοῦσα P4 || 14 περιπατητικὸς Me περιπατικοῖ M || 15 ἀσώματον E *ante corr.Mo* ||

37. Moreover, it is evident from these things that every theory of melody according to the musicians does not have its substance in any other thing except in the notes.¹¹⁸ And because of this, if they are abolished, music will be nothing. Now, how will one say that there are no notes? From the premise--we will say--that they are generically sound;¹¹⁹ and that sound is nonexistent has been shown by us from the testimony of the dogmatists in our skeptic observations.¹²⁰

38. The philosophers from Cyrene say that only the passions exist, but nothing else.¹²¹ For this reason, sound, since it is not a passion but productive of passion, does not arise from the existent things. Those who follow Democritus and Plato, in abolishing every sense-object, concomitantly abolish even sound, which seems to be a sense-object.¹²² In another way, if there is sound, it is either a body or not a body. But it is neither a body as the Peripatetics teach in many ways, nor is it not a body, as the Stoics teach.¹²³ There is, therefore, no sound.

¹¹⁸Cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 68 (Jan 306.18-20).

¹¹⁹On sound as the primary cause of music, see Euclid *Sectio canonis* proem; Gaudentius *Intro.* (Jan 327-28); and Nicomachus *Ench.* 2, where a discussion on music is begun with the topic of sound.

¹²⁰Note Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.131, where a brief refutation of sound is made. The main points of the argument are as follows: every sound--if there is sound--is either coming into being or is being silenced. But there is not sound that is coming into being, because it has not yet been substantiated; and it is agreed that sound being silenced is no longer substantiated. There is, therefore, no sound.

¹²¹On this doctrine of the Cyrenaics, cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.191 and *P.* 1.215 and Diogenes Laertius 2.92. On the Cyrenaics, see Sextus Empiricus *P.* 1.215; and Julián Marías, *History of Philosophy*, trans. Stanley Appelbaum and Clarence C. Strowbridge (New York: Dover, 1967), pp. 89-90.

¹²²On this teaching of Democritus and Plato, cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.6, 56.

¹²³On these doctrines according to the Peripatetics and the Stoics, see Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 4.20 (902F-903A). According to Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, sound is not a body, because sound is not the air but is a manifestation that occurs in accord with a striking of the air. As a similar example, when a rod is bent it is not the manifestation or appearance, but, rather, the matter that is bent. According to the Stoics, sound is a body, because everything that

39. Ἄλλ' ὥδέ τις ἀκεύνως ἐπικειρήσειε λέγειν, ὥς εἰ μὴ
 ἔστι ψυχὴ, οὐδὲ αἰσθήσεις· μέρη γὰρ ταύτης ὑπῆρχον. εἰ δὲ μὴ
 εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, οὐδὲ τὰ αἰσθητά· πρὸς αἰσθήσεις γὰρ ἡ τοῦ-
 των ὑπόστασις νοεῖται. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσθητὰ οὐδὲ φωνή· ἐξ ὅς γάρ
 5 τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὑπῆρχεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέν ἐστι ψυχὴ, καθὼς ἐν
 τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδεικνυμεν· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

40. Καὶ μὴν εἰ μήτε βραχεῖά ἐστι φωνὴ μήτε μακρά, οὐκ ἔστι
 φωνή· οὔτε δὲ βραχεῖά ἐστίν οὔτε μακρά φωνή, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς
 τοὺς γραμματικοὺς ὑπεμνήσαμεν, περὶ συλλαβῆς καὶ λέξεως ζητοῦν-
 10 τες πρὸς τοὺτους· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι φωνή.

1 ἄλλ' ὥς δέ τις ἀκεύνων MoT (corr. in marg. et sup. lin.T²)
 ἄλλος δέ τις κἂν ἐκεύνως Bekk. Mau | ὥς] s sup. lin.O || 2
 ταύτης] αὐτῆς PORU ταύτας P7 || 2-3 μέρη γὰρ...εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθη-
 σεις deest in P4 || 3 αἱ deest in UVa | αἰσθήσεις (sec.) U³²k
 αἰσθήσει cett. | ἡ τοῦ τούτων Es || 4 ὑποστάσεις Va | μὴ deest
 in M || 5 ὑπῆρχον g (corr. sup. lin.U³) || 5-6 ἐστὶ ψυχὴ,...
 ὑπομνήμασιν ἐδει deest in Va (add. in marg.Va²) || 6 αὐτὴν P4 |
 φωνή] φωνῇ MeS || 8 οὔτε δὲ μακρά ἐστίν οὔτε βραχεῖα P4 || 10-
 172.1 οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι...ἐν ἀποτελέσματι deest in Va οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι
 φωνή, πρὸς τοὺτους οὔτε ἐν ἀποτελέσματι add. in marg.Va²||

39. But in yet another way, suppose one undertakes to say that unless there is a soul, there are no senses (for they exist as parts of the soul).¹²⁴ And unless there are senses, there are no sense-objects (for the substance of these is conceived with reference to the senses). And unless there are sense-objects, there is no sound (for it exists as a type of the sense-objects).¹²⁵ But the soul is nothing, just as we showed in the observations on the soul.¹²⁶ There is, therefore, no sound.

40. Indeed, if sound is neither short nor long, there is no sound. But sound is neither long nor short, as we observed in our remarks against the grammarians, when questioning them on syllable and word.¹²⁷ There is, therefore, no sound.

performs an action is a body; sound makes an imprint on the hearing as a finger does in wax. Everything that moves and annoys is a body; εὐμουσία (musicality) moves and ἀμουσία (want of musicality) annoys. Sound is moved and is reflected when it makes an echo.

¹²⁴In Aristotle *De anima* 2.2 (413b11-13), soul is the origin (ἀρχή) of the senses and is defined by them as well as nutrition, thought, and movement. Cf. Plato *Ti.* (43A-44B) and Plutarch *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* 24 (1024C) and *Compendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo* 5 (1032B).

¹²⁵Cf. the fourth mode of the five of Agrippa (see Introduction, pp. 15-16). When the hypothesis upon which other proofs are based is abolished, all are abolished with it.

¹²⁶This is apparently a reference to a lost work. Cf. Sextus Empiricus *M.* 10.284.

¹²⁷On sound being neither long nor short, see Sextus Empiricus *M.* 1.124-130. The argument may be summarized as follows. There is no short syllable, because there is no smallest chronos (see n. 141 *infra*), since every chronos is divided *ad infinitum* (εἰς ἄνευρον). If the grammarians say that they call a syllable short and smallest not by nature but by sense, they will increase the difficulty, for what they call short is divisible by sense. Sextus Empiricus uses as an example here the syllable "ερ." This syllable is made of two elements and is, therefore, divisible and so cannot be short. A long syllable is also nonexistent. The grammarians say that it is dichronic, but two chronoi do not co-exist with one another. For if they are two, one is in the present but the other is not, since one must be uttered before or after the other. Since the parts do not co-exist, the syllable as a whole is not substantiated, but only a part of it. If only a part of the long syllable exists, it will not differ

41. Πρὸς τούτους ἡ φωνὴ οὔτε ἐν ἀποτελέσματι οὔτε ἐν ὑποστάσει νοεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐν γενέσει καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκτάσει· τὸ δὲ ἐν γενέσει νοούμενον γίνεται, οὐδέπω δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἰκία γινομένη ἢ ναὺς καὶ ἄλλα παμπληθῆ εἶναι λέγεται. τοῦτον οὐθέν

5 ἔστι φωνή.

42. Καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ συχνούσι εἰς τοῦτο ἔνεστι λόγους χρῆσθαι, περὶ ὧν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν τοῖς Πυρρωνεούσις ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι διεξήκειμεν. νυνὶ δὲ φωνῆς μὴ οὔσης οὐδὲ φθόγγος ἔστιν, ὅς ἐλέγετο φωνῆς πτώσις ὑπὸ μίαν τάσιν· φθόγγου δὲ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲ

10 διὰσθημα μουσικὸν καθέστηκεν, οὐ συμφωνία, οὐ μελωδία, οὐ τὰ ἐκ τούτων γένη. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μουσική· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἐλέγετο ἐμμελῶν τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν.

43. Ὅθεν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ὑποδεικνέον ὅτι, μὰν τούτων ἀποσῶμεν, διὰ τὴν ἐγχειρισθησομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας ἀπορίαν

15 ἀνυπόστατος καθέστηκεν ἡ μουσική. εἰ || γὰρ μηδὲν ἔστι ῥυθμός, οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμη τις ἔσται περὶ ῥυθμοῦ· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν ἔστι ῥυθμός, ὡς παραστήσομεν· οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι τις ἐπιστήμη περὶ ῥυθμοῦ.

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1 ἀποτελέσματι E || 2 γενέσει P5Va || 3 νοούμενον] οὐ μόνον Es | νοούμενον γί[[νεται καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκ]]νεται P5 νοούμενον γινέσει καὶ χρονικῇ παρεκ..νεται Va | οὐδέπω] οὐδέ ποτε M | δ' deest in EsP6 || 4 ἦ] ἦν Me (corr. sup. lin.) καὶ Va | εἶνα Es | οὐθέν] οὐδὲν Es || 6 ἔν ἐστι MeS | λόγους VaP5 (corr. P5²) | χρῆσθαι P4 (corr. sup. lin.) || 7 ὡς deest in Va | ὑπομνηματιζόμενον E || 8 διεξήκειμεν codd. (η sup. lin. T² διεξεῖνμεν P4P7 διεξέειμεν P3) | ad φθόγγος add. tit. in marg. τί φθόγγος F τί φόγγος M | ὅς] ὡς S || 10 ad μουσικὸν add. tit. in marg. τί μουσικόν F | οὐδὲ μελωδία P4 | οὐ τὰ] αὐτὰ MoT (corr. sup. lin. T²) || 11 γένους O | ad μουσική add. tit. in marg. τί μουσική M || 12 τε deest in Es | τε καὶ ἐκμελῶν deest in P5Va (add. in marg. P5² et Va²) || 14 ἐγχειρισθησομένην] σο deest in T (corr. sup. lin. T²) ἐγχειρηθησομένην C ἐγχειρηθησομένην Bekk. Mau | ἀπορίαν RU (corr. sup. lin. U³) || 15 εἰ [[μεν]] γὰρ Mo | μηδὲν ἔστι] μηδ' ἔνεστι E || 16 ἐπιστή Va | τις ἔσται] τίς ἐστι P4 || 16-17 ἀλλὰ μὴν...περὶ ῥυθμοῦ deest in Es ||

41. Besides these things, sound is conceived neither as an effect nor as a substance, but rather as a coming-into-being and a temporal extension. What is conceived as coming-into-being is becoming but not yet is,¹²⁸ just a house or a ship¹²⁹ and other multitudinous things that are in a state of becoming are not said to be. So then, sound is nothing.

42. It is possible to use toward this end many other arguments, which, as I said, we went through in detail while making observations in the *Pyrrhoneia*.¹³⁰ But now, since there is no sound, neither is there a note, which was said to be a fall of sound on one pitch.¹³¹ Since there is no note, neither has a musical interval¹³² been established nor consonance¹³³ nor melody nor the genera¹³⁴ derived from these. Because of this, there is no music, for it was said to be a science of the *emmelic* and the *ecmelic*.¹³⁵

43. For this reason, it must be pointed out from another principle that even if we stand aloof from these things, music has still been established as nonsubstantial through the doubt that will be treated in connection with rhythmic composition. For if rhythm is nothing, neither will there be a science concerning rhythm. But indeed, rhythm is nothing, as we will prove. There is, therefore, no science of rhythm.¹³⁶

from the short syllable. And it is not possible to conceive something as compounded from parts if one part exists but the other does not. There is, therefore, no long syllable.

¹²⁸On being, see Peters, pp. 141-42. On becoming, see Peters, pp. 67-72, and Aristotle *Ph.* 1.7-8. Being indicates a continuous and ongoing state without change; becoming implies a process in which a substantial change is taking place.

¹²⁹House and ship are used in a similar example in Sextus Empiricus *M.* 8.131.

¹³⁰It is not evident to which work Sextus Empiricus is referring here, and it may be a lost work.

¹³¹See ¶11 *supra*.

¹³²See ¶14 *supra*.

¹³³See ¶¶32-34 *supra*.

¹³⁴See ¶16 *supra*.

¹³⁵See ¶28 *supra*.

¹³⁶Rhythmics is a part of the technical division of music (see chart in n. 4 *supra*) along with the harmonic and metric (Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.5 and Anon. *Bell.* 29 [Najock 9.4-5]).

44. Ὡς γὰρ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ῥυθμὸς σύστημα ἐστὶν ἐκ ποδῶν, ὃ δὲ ποῦς τὸ συνεστὼς ἐξ ἄρσεως καὶ θέσεως· ἡ δὲ ἄρσις καὶ ἡ θέσις ἐν ποσότητι χρόνου θεωρεῖται, ὧν τινὰς μὲν ἐπεῖχεν

1 *ad* ῥυθμὸς *add. tit. in marg.* ὅρος ῥυθμοῦ F ῥυθμός P5² || 2 ὃ δὲ] οὐδε C | ποῦς] τοῦς P7 (*corr. in marg.*) | *ad* ποῦς *add. tit. in marg.* τί ποῦς· καὶ τί ἄρσις· καὶ τί θέσις M τί ποῦς καὶ ἄρσις καὶ θέσις F | συνεστὸς P3P6 | ἐξ ἄρσεως] ἐξάσεως Es | *ad* ἄρσις *add. tit. in marg.* ἄρσις, θέσις P5² || 3 μὲν *deest in M* ||

44. As we have said many times,¹³⁷ rhythm is a scale of feet,¹³⁸ and the foot is what has been composed of arsis and thesis.¹³⁹ Arsis and thesis¹⁴⁰ are considered as a quantity

¹³⁷Sextus Empiricus says this nowhere else in his surviving works.

¹³⁸On the definition of rhythm, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.7, 16-20 (see Lewis Rowell, "Aristoxenus on Rhythm," *Journal of Music Theory* 23 [1979]: 63-79); Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4.46; Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13; Bacchius *Intro.* 2.93 (Jan 313.1-12), where he gives his own definition of rhythm as well as those of Phaedrus, Aristoxenus, Nicomachus, Leophantus, and Didymus; Hephaestion fr. 1 (Consbruch 76.19-77.2); and Anon. Bell. 1 (Najock 1.1-2) and 83 (Najock 28.1-2). On rhythm, see W. Sidney Allen, *Accent and Rhythm. Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek: A Study in Theory and Reconstruction* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973); H. & H. Huchzermeyer, "Die Bedeutung des Rhythmus in der Musiktherapie der Griechen von der Frühzeit bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus," *Sudhoffs Archivische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 58 (1974): 113-48; Willem John Wolff Koster, *Rhythme en metrum bij de Grieken van Damon tot Aristoxenus* (Groningen: Wolters, 1940); P. Doutzaris, "La rythmique dans la poésie et la musique des grecs anciens," *Revue des études grecques* 47 (1934): 297-345; Franz Susemihl, "Zur griechischen Rhythmik," *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 101 (1870): 510-13; Rudolf Westphal, *Griechische Rhythmik und Harmonik nebst der Geschichte der drei musischen Disziplinen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1867); idem, *System der antiken Rhythmik* (Breslau: F. E. C. Leuckart, 1865); and Wilhelm Seidel, "Rhythmus/numerus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner [c1972-83]). For a new consideration of the question of rhythm and meter in ancient Greek music, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 7 (1985): 159-80.

¹³⁹Cf. *M.* 1.160, where Sextus Empiricus postpones his discussion of rhythmic feet to his remarks against the musicians.

¹⁴⁰On arsis and thesis, cf. Bacchius *Intro.* 2.98 (Jan 314.10-15); Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.13; and Georgius Choeroboscus *Comm. in Hephaestionem* 2.3 (Consbruch 211.14) and Scholiast B on Hephaestion 5.20 (Consbruch 294.13-14); Charles W. L. Johnson, "The Motion of the Voice in Connection with Accent and Accentual Arsis and Thesis," in *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1902), pp. 57-76. The terms "arsis" and "thesis" are

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ἡ θέσις τινὰς δὲ ἢ ἄρσις χρόνους. καθάπερ ἐκ μὲν στοιχείων συλλαβαῖ ἐκ δὲ συλλαβῶν λέξεις συντίθενται, οὕτως ἐκ μὲν τῶν χρόνων οἱ πόδες ἐκ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ ῥυθμοὶ γίνονται.

45. Ἐὰν οὖν δεύζωμεν ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστι χρόνος, ἔξομεν συναπο-
 5 δεδευγμένον ὅτι οὐδὲ πόδες ὑπάρξουσιν, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ οἱ ῥυθμοί, ἐξ ἐκεῖνων τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνοντες. ὃ ἀκολουθήσει τὸ μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην εἶναί τινα περὶ ῥυθμούς. πῶς οὖν; ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστι χρόνος, ἥδη μὲν παρεστήσαμεν ἐν τοῖς Πυρρωνεῶσι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥτιον καὶ τὰ νῦν παραστήσομεν ἐπὶ ποσόν.
- 10 46. Εἰ γὰρ ἔστι τι χρόνος, ἦτοι πεπέρασται ἢ ἀπειρός ἐστιν. οὔτε δὲ πεπέρασται, ἐπεὶ ἐροῦμέν ποτε γεγονέναι χρόνον ὅτε χρόνος οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἔσσεσθαι ποτε χρόνον ὅτε χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται· οὔτε ἀπειρος κατέστηκεν, ἔστι γὰρ τι αὐτοῦ παρψηχιδὸς καὶ ἐνεσιῶς καὶ μέλλον, ὧν ἐκάτερον εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, πεπέρασται ὁ χρόνος,
 15 εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ἔσται ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ὁ παρψηχιδὸς καὶ ὁ μέλλων, ὅπερ ἄτοπον. οὐκ ἄρα ἔστι χρόνος.

1 post χρόνους ci. deest copula in marg.U³ | post καθάπερ add. γὰρ Bekk. ex Herv. quomodo enim || 1-2 στοιχείων...οὕτως ἐκ μὲν deest in E || 3 ad χρόνων add. tit. in marg. χρόνος, πόδες, ῥυθμός P5² | οἱ (sec.) deest in b | post γίνονται add. ἐξ ἐκεῖνων τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνοντες codd., condemn. Bekk. Mau || 4 ἐὰν deest in M | ἔζωμεν T (corr. sup. lin.T²) || 4-6 ἐὰν οὖν ...λαμβάνοντες deest in EsP6 || 5 ὑπάρξουσιν ci. Bekk. | δὲ deest in M | οἱ deest in M || 6 σύστασι P4 || 6-7 τὸ μηδὲ] μὴ δὲ τὸ P4 || 7 μηδὲ P6 μὴ δὲ cett. | ῥυθμοῖς] ἀριθμοῖς E || 8 Πυρρωνεῶσις T (corr. sup. lin.T²) Πυρρωνεῶσις Ta (corr. sup. lin.) || 8-9 οὐδέν || ἔστι χρόνος, ἥδη μὲν|| παρεστήσομεν Mo || 9 δὲ ἥτιον καὶ τὰ νῦν in marg.Mo | δὲ deest in va | καὶ [[νῦν]] τὰ νῦν P6 | παρεστήσομεν MoT (corr. sup. lin.T²) || 10 ἡ deest in E || 11 ὅτε] ὅτι E || 12 οὐκ ἦν...ὅτε χρόνος in marg.Es || 13 ἔστι] ἔστι O | καὶ ἐνεσιῶς condemn. Heintz ἐνεσιῶς P3 || 14 μέλλων P6 | ὧν] ὡς P7 (corr. in marg.P7) U (corr. in marg.U³) | ἐκάτερον] ἕκαστον ci. Bekk. || 15 ὁ (pr.)] ὁ MoT (corr. sup. lin.T²) || 16 ἄτοπον] το deest in T (add. sup. lin.T²)||

of chronos:¹⁴¹ the thesis contains some chronoi and the arsis others. Just as syllables are combined from elements and words from syllables, so the feet come into being from the chronoi and the rhythms from the feet.

45. If we show that chronos is nothing, we will have concomitantly demonstrated that neither do feet exist, nor, because of this, do rhythms, since they take their composition from feet. It will follow from this that there is no science of rhythms. How so? That chronos is nothing we already proved in the *Pyrrhonia*,¹⁴² but nevertheless, we will prove the things at hand up to a point.

46. If there is a chronos, either it has been limited or it is unlimited.¹⁴³ But it has not been limited, since we then say that at some time there has been a chronos when there was no chronos and that at some time there will be a chronos when there will be no chronos. Nor has it been established as unlimited: for part of it is past and present and future,¹⁴⁴ in the case of each of which, if it is not, chronos has been limited; but if it is, there will be both the past and the future concurrently, which is absurd. There is, therefore, no chronos.

derived from the dance movement that is a part of the music. Thesis is downward movement as in the placement of the foot, and arsis is upward movement as in the raising of the foot.

¹⁴¹On the chronos, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.10 and Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* 1.14. "Chronos" is a technical term used by the ancients to indicate a measure of rhythmic time. The same term is also used in a more proper sense to indicate the phenomenon that approximates the denotation of the English word "time" in its primary sense. It is this ambiguity that Sextus Empiricus will play upon in the following sections. By proving the impossibility of the existence of "chronos" in one sense, the other is also abolished. For definitions of "chronos" in the more abstract sense as put forth by the various philosophical schools, see Sextus Empiricus *P.* 3.136-40 and Stobaeus *Ecl.* 1.8.40-42 (Wachsmuth 102-7).

¹⁴²The discussion that will be found in sections 46-50 parallels discussions found in *P.* 3.140-44 and *M.* 10.189-200.

¹⁴³The unlimited denotes in its original sense not only what is infinite in extent but also what has not been ordered or delimited by any internal arrangement or boundaries. On the unlimited, see Plato *Phil.* (23C-25B); Aristotle *Ph.* 2.4-5; and Peters, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴⁴This argument is given to prove time as unlimited by Apollodorus in Stobaeus *Ecl.* 1.8.42 (Wachsmuth 1:105.10-16).

47. Τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνυπάρκτων συνεστῶς ἀνυπαρκτόν ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἔκ τε τοῦ παρῳχημένου καὶ μηκέτ' ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος μηδέπω δὲ ὄντος συνεστῶς ἀνυπαρκτος ἔσται.

48. Ἄλλως τε, εἰ μὲν ἀμερῆς ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος, πῶς τὸ μὲν τι
 5 αὐτοῦ παρῳχημένον τὸ δὲ ἐνεστῶς τὸ δὲ μέλλον λέγομεν; εἰ δὲ
 μεριστός ἐστὶν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν τὸ μεριστὸν ὑπὸ τίνος αὐτοῦ μέρους
 καταμετρεῖται, ὥς πῆχυς μὲν ὑπὸ παλαιστοῦ, ὁ παλαιστῆς δὲ ὑπὸ
 δακτύλου, δεῖξει καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τίνος τῶν αὐτοῦ μερῶν κατα-
 10 μετρεῖσθαι. οὔτε δὲ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι δυνατὸν καταμετρεῖν τοὺς ἄλ-
 λους χρόνους, ἐπεὶ περ ὁ γινόμενος καὶ ὁ ἐνεστῶς χρόνος ὁ αὐτὸς
 ἔσται κατ' αὐτοὺς παρῳχημένος καὶ μέλλων, παρῳχημένος μὲν ὅτι
 τὸν παρῳχημένον καταμετρεῖ χρόνον, μέλλων δὲ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα·
 ὅπερ ἄτοπον. οὐ τοίνυν τινὲς τῶν λειπομένων δυοῖν τὸν ἐνεστῶτα
 15 χρόνον. καταμετρητέον. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ταύτη λεκτέον εἰναὶ τινὰ

49. Πρὸς τούτους ὁ χρόνος τριμερῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχει
 παρῳχηκὸς τὸ δὲ ἐνεστῶς τὸ δὲ μέλλον, ὧν τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον
 οὐκέτι ἔστι τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐπω ἔστι τὸ δὲ ἐνεστῶς ἤτοι ἀμερῆς
 20 ἐστὶν ἢ μεριστόν. ἀλλ' ἀμερεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη· ἐν ἀμερεὶ μὲν
 γὰρ οὐδὲν δύναται γίνεσθαι μεριστόν, ὥς φησι Τύμων, οἷον τὸ
 γίνεσθαι, τὸ φθείρεσθαι.

1 ἀνυπαρκτοῦ MoT (corr. in marg. T²) | συνεστερὶ O (c. συνεστὶς
 in marg.) συνεστερὶ P συνεστὶς P3P6P4(?) || 1-2 Τό γε...ὁ δὲ
 χρόνος deest in RU (corr. in marg. U³) || 2 ἐκ τε] οὔτε P4 || 3
 μηδέπω] μὴ δέ πω MeS | ὄντως ante corr. Me || 4 ἀμερῆς M | τι]
 τοι Ok || 5 ἐνεστὶς EOPP3P4R | μέλλο Es || 6 μεριστὸν] μεστὸν
 Va || 7 δὲ deest in E || 8 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν MoT (corr. in marg. T²) |
 αὐτοῦ μερῶν] αὐτομερῶν M || 9 τῷ sup. lin. Me || 10 ὁ (pr.) con-
 demn. Heintz | καὶ] κατ' αὐτοὺς ci. Heintz (ex infra) | ὁ
 (sec.)] vacet in alio art. ὁ in marg. U³ || 10-11 ὁ ἐνεστῶς...
 παρῳχημένος καὶ deest in C || 11 ἔσται deest in d | κατ' αὐτοὺς
 transp. post γινόμενος (10) Heintz | παρῳχημένος καὶ μέλλων
 rep. P3 | καὶ μέλλων, παρῳχημένος deest in T (add. in marg. T²) ||
 11-12 μέλλων, παρῳχημένος...δὲ ὅτι τὸν deest in Va (corr. in
 marg. Va²) || 13 οὔτε τοίνυν ci. Bury | λειπομένων P3P5Va | δυοῖν
 fg (corr. sup. lin. U³) || 16 χρόνος] χρόνοις B || 16-19 καὶ τὸ
 μὲν...ἀλλ' ἀμερεῖς] καὶ τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον, οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ
 ἐνεστῶς τὸ δὲ μέλλων· ὧν τὸ μὲν παρῳχημένον οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ. τὸ
 δὲ μελλ' ἀμερεῖς Va (corr. in marg. [sed μεριστόν ἐστὶν ἢ ἀμερεῖς
 transp.] Va²) || 17 ἐνεστὶς EOPP3P4R || 18 ἔστι (pr.)] ἔσται E |
 ἐνεστὶς OPP3P4P6R || 20 δύναται [(δύνα)] γίνεσθαι P4 | γίνεσθαι
 CESP5VNa γί[γ sup. lin.]νεσθαι P3 | ὡς] ὡ P7 || 21 γίνεσθαι Es||

47. What has been composed from nonexistents is nonexistent. Chronos, since it is composed from what has past and no longer is and from what is future and is not yet,¹⁴⁵ will be nonexistent.¹⁴⁶

48. In another way, if chronos is indivisible,¹⁴⁷ how do we say that the past, the present, and the future are parts of it? If it is divisible, since everything that is divisible is measured by a part of itself (as a cubit by a palm, the palm by a finger), it will be necessary that chronos also be measured by one of its parts. Neither is it possible to measure the other chronoi with the present, since indeed the becoming and present chronos will be the same as the past and future (in respect to them)--past because it measures past chronos, future because it measures the future chronos, which is absurd.¹⁴⁸ So then, one must not measure the present by one of the remaining two. For this reason, it must not thus be said that there is a chronos.

49. Besides these things, chronos is tripartite,¹⁴⁹ and one part is past, one present, and one future. Of these, the past is no longer, the future is not yet,¹⁵⁰ and the present is either indivisible or divisible. But it would not be indivisible, for in the indivisible, nothing divisible is able to come into being¹⁵¹--as Timon says--such as coming-into-being and perishing.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵On the past and future as nonexistents, cf. Parmenides fr. 8 (Diels/Kranz 235.1-6). According to Parmenides, everything is one and continuous; the acceptance of a past and a future implies the capacity of something to come-into-being or to perish. See n. 151 *infra*.

¹⁴⁶This paragraph parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (217b33-218a3).

¹⁴⁷On rhythm being divisible, cf. Aristoxenus *Rhyth.* 2.6 and Bacchius *Intro.* 89 (Jan 312.12-13).

¹⁴⁸This parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (218a6-8).

¹⁴⁹On chronos as tripartite, cf. Plutarch *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 41 (1081F) and *Septem sapientium convivium* 9 (153B).

¹⁵⁰This parallels Aristotle *Ph.* 4.10 (217b33-34).

¹⁵¹Cf. Parmenides fr. 8 (Diels/Kranz 235.6-238.41). Parmenides denies the possibility of passing from nonbeing to being and vice-versa. See also Peters, p. 68.

¹⁵²This quote of Timon is also found in Sextus Empiricus *M.* 10.197. On Timon, see Introduction, pp. 7-8.

50. Καὶ ἄλλως, εἴπερ ἀμερές ἐστὶ τὸ ἐνεστώδες τοῦ χρόνου, οὔτε ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἀφ' ἧς ἀρχεται, οὔτε πέρας ἐφ' ὃ καταλήγει, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μέσον· καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐνεστώδες χρόνος. εἰ δὲ μεριστός ἐστίν, εἰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς μὴ ὄντας χρόνους μερίζεται, 5 οὐκ ἔσται χρόνος, εἰ δ' εἰς τοὺς ὄντας χρόνους, οὐκ ἔσται ὅλος ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ τινὰ μὲν ἔσται τινὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔσται. τοίνυν οὐδέν ἐστι χρόνος, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πόδες, οὐδὲ ῥυθμοί, οὐδ' ἡ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἐπιστήμη.

51. Τοσαῦτα πραγματικῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς μουσικῆς εἰπόντες 10 ἀρχὰς ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα διέξοδον ἀπαρτίζομεν.

1 ἐνεστώδες OPP3P6RP4(?) || 2 ἐφ' ᾧ Chouet Fabr. | κατακαταλήγει Mo || 3 οὐδὲ] οὐ δὲ U || 3-4 εἰ δὲ...χρόνους rep.P5 || 4 μερίζεται deest in T (add. in marg.T²) || 5 χρόνος, εἰ...οὐκ ἔσται deest in T (add. in marg.T²) | ὅλως c. var. lect. sup. lin. ὅλος MTa || 6 μὲν deest in P6 || 8 ἡ deest in U οἱ P6 || 9 τὰς deest in P5 (add. sup. lin.P5²) || 10 τοῦτοις P6 || ad finem: Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοῦς CP3P5P7Vf Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοῦς τέλος MoP6ve Σέξτου Ἐ[μ add. sup. lin.]πειρικοῦ πρὸς μουσικοῦς τέλος: Fine librorum πρὸς μαθηματι[[θη]]κοῦς T Τέλος πρὸς μουσικοῦς Fi Τέλος τῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα U³ πρὸς μαθηματικοῦς, τέλος P2 ||

50. In another way, if indeed the present part of *chronos* is indivisible, it has neither a beginning from which it begins nor a limit at which it leaves off, nor, because of this, a middle, and so there will not be the present *chronos*. If it is divisible and if it is divided into the *chronoi* that are not, there will be no *chronos*; ¹⁵³ but if it is divided into the *chronoi* that are, the *chronos* will not be whole: rather, some of its parts will be and some will not be. So then, *chronos* is nothing, and because of this, neither are there feet, nor rhythms, nor the science of rhythms. ¹⁵⁴

51. Having said so many things in a practical manner against the principles of music, with so many things we bring to completion the exposition against the subjects of learning.

¹⁵³Cf. Plutarch *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 41 (1082A).

¹⁵⁴Note the second mode of the five of Agrippa (see Introduction, p. 15).

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